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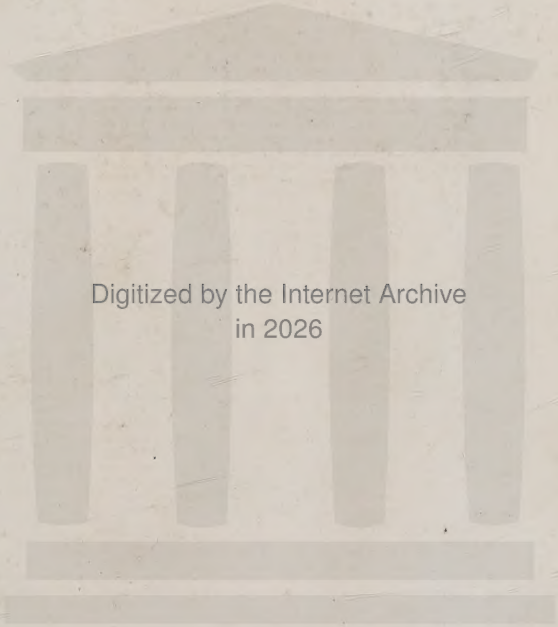

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IN AND ABOUT

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE:

A BOOK FOR THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN

OF THE CITY AND COUNTY.

ISLINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARIES

BY

ROBERT MELLORS,

ALDERMAN NOTTS COUNTY COUNCIL

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTTINGHAM:

J. & H. BELL LD., CARLTON STREET,

1908.

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WITHDRAWN
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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY WIFE.

PREFACE.

I HAVE long been of opinion that the young people of our City and County of Nottingham have not been sufficiently acquainted with the history of their own locality, and the objects of interest that are around them ; the lives of the great and good who have lived in the district, and struggled to secure the advantages we now enjoy, and the events of byegone times, from which we may with great advantage draw lessons for our future guidance.

In an address to the Managers of Elementary Schools in the County which I printed and circulated in 1905, on "Some Aspects of Elementary Education in the Day Schools of Nottinghamshire," occurs the following passage :—

"It is desirable that the subjects to be taught in our Village Schools should be diminished in number, and not increased ; but if we are to have History and Geography taught, may it be suggested that the illustrations given by the Teachers should bring prominently forward the History of our own County, and of the events that have occurred in our Towns and Villages."

I referred to Cornelius Brown's "Lives of Nottinghamshire Worthies" as showing how "in many of our parishes men who have worthily served their generation have been born, or have lived and died ; but all this is to the children who live in the several places a sealed book. They are supplied with books about Africa, but they know nothing of their ancestors—the men who built their village churches, or who five hundred or one thousand years ago tilled the fields where

they live." "Cannot the Vicar of every parish in the County," I asked, "be persuaded to write the parish or district story, and tell of the men whose lives are recorded, and of the manners and customs, the habits and pursuits of the generations that are gone, and do it in such a manner that our elder scholars in the schools, or at all events our young men and maidens, may profit by?" This enquiry I repeat.

The Head Master in one of our schools—Mr. Spencer, of Stapleford—called my attention to the fact that the records of the past were to our village teachers largely unknown, or inaccessible, or were so spread about as to be unavailable. I thereupon tried my hand upon some "Notes on the Parish of Stapleford, with lessons thereon," but I found twenty books had to be laid under contribution to obtain the necessary materials, and thereupon I deemed it to be my duty to collect items of interest out of the treasures of local County history.

While so occupied, there occurred to me the greatest bereavement that a man—and especially an elderly man—can sustain; and regarding that event as a personal notice to quit, I thought I had better occupy the unexpired time in writing what now appears.*

I have not ventured to write in a form adapted to professional teachers, whether clerical or scholastic. They are better acquainted with history than I am, and are constantly using things natural to illustrate things mental or spiritual, and the lessons of past events for future guidance. My aim has been rather to help, in addition to the young people, their parents and voluntary workers among them.

---

* My wife's family were connected with the north of the County; her father, the Rev. T. J. Galland, being when he died, in 1842, Vicar of Laneham, Notts.

The limitations arising from age, from a strenuous life, and from only a village school education, would disqualify me for a more ambitious scheme.

I have on various occasions written and published pamphlets—one as far back as 1859 or 1860, the subject being "Penny Banks for the People." This was a year or two before Mr. Gladstone adopted Mr.—afterwards Sir—Frederick Sykes' suggestion for utilizing the Post Office in connection with thrift. I have not, however, written a book, and must therefore claim indulgence for the effort of a 'prentice hand, especially in regard to any inaccuracies or unguarded statements that may possibly be discovered.

The plan of the book is in the first portion to show local events in connection with national history, or national ones in their bearing upon our locality. Of course, this could be done only by lightly touching upon events, subjects, or persons. This course occupies the first fifty chapters. Then follow twenty chapters having reference to localities or local subjects, succeeded by other twenty chapters chiefly referring to social questions with which it is desirable young people should make themselves acquainted, and on each subject there has been exercised the right elderly people are accustomed to claim of giving advice or expressing opinions, to which little attention is paid, but relief is thus given, and no harm is done.

I regret that several chapters have had to be omitted for want of room, and our village histories have scarcely been touched.

In those parts of the book which refer chiefly to items of historical interest I have sought, as seemed desirable, to draw lessons from the events recorded, and it may be have thereby introduced debatable matter. Doubtless, from the

same events different classes of minds would draw divergent lessons.

I have not thought it desirable to encumber the title with the double names of "Nottingham and Nottinghamshire," but have in the body of the book clearly distinguished between the two county authorities, the interests of which are largely identical, or so joined together as to be in many respects inseparable. A standing joint committee to regulate mutual interests in which the City and County are jointly concerned or might usefully co-operate, would be an advantage.

With a view to aid classes for the study of local history I have given a list of the books consulted. Such study, joined with the study of local Natural History, would be of great service to our young people.

The following ladies and gentlemen, and many others whose names are unfortunately forgotten, have in connection with this book, or the information contained therein, rendered kindly service, and thanks are accorded :—

Mrs. Becher, Lady Chermside, the late Mrs. Gilbert, Mrs. Golding, Mrs. Hodgson, the late Mrs. Leavers, Mrs. Mann, Miss Etta McKee, Mrs. Musters, Miss Schmidt, Mrs. Yates, and Miss Stansby (who has compiled the Index). The Rev. and Hon. A. E. Bertie, the Revs. Bingley Cass, R. E. G. Cole, A. Fraser, A. R. Henderson, Baron von Hube, W. A. Kerr, R. A. McKee, W. Pullen, R. Robinson, T. Scowby, the late R. H. Whitworth, F. A. Wodehouse, and A. Thornley. Messrs. the Editor of "The Albany Review," J. Bell, J. Bird, Prof. Blackshaw, T. M. Blagg, G. G. Bonser, Dr. Boobbyer, R. Booker, J. G. Branston, J. P. Briscoe and his Assistants, C. J. Bristowe, J. H. Brown, A. Buxton, M. Chorley, W. Clifton, H. H. Copnall, S. Corner, D. Cowley, W. Cliff, the Curator, British Museum, the late J. W. Curtin, A. Davidson, A. C. Day, F. W. Dobson,

C. K. Eddowes, R. Evans, G. S. Ellis, the late H. Fairholm, G. Fellows, A. J. Firmin, H. Gill, T. Gillatt, G. Goodall, E. Gordon, R. Graves, Jas. Granger, E. L. Guilford, Dr. Handford, F. B. Harris, H. Haynes, H. Hillman, T. B. T. Hildyard, G. T. Hine, T. W. V. Hodgkinson, W. H. Holmes, E. P. Hooley, G. Muncaster Howard, T. W. Huskinson, R. Hutchinson, E. Jardine, the Keeper of MSS., British Museum, Jas. Keetley, Prof. Kipping, F. B. Lewis, Ar. Lineker, A. T. Metcalfe. A. E. Morton, R. Morton, W. H. P. Norris, S. W. Oscroft, S. Page, F. W. Pare, E. Parry, J. Pierce, S. Pugh, F. Rayner, A. J. Raven, A. Rendall, M.P., A. Richardson, M.P., F. G. Richardson, J. Rogers, J. Russell, G. W. Sekey, J. G. Shacklock, A. W. Shelton, T. Sissons, Sisson and Parker, C. F. Elliott-Smith, R. C. Sutton, R. Speed, C. F. Spencer, A. Stapleton, P. H. Stevenson, C. Wakley, G. H. Wallis, J. Ward, J. C. Warren, J. Harrop White, G. Whitfield, A. H. Whitworth, J. R. Wild, R. A. Wilde, C. H. Williams, E. Wilmshurst, the Editor of "The Timber Trades Journal," S. W. Turpin, etc.

BOOKS USED OR REFERRED TO.

The Geology of Nottinghamshire, by A. T. Metcalfe—Ancient Britain, by T. Rice Holmes—The Chronicles of the Ancient British Church previous to the arrival of St. Augustine—Early Christianity and Paganism, by Dean Spence—The Saxons in England, by the Rev. J. M. Kemble—Historic Links, by D. L. Maguire—Dictionary of English History, by Sidney Low—English Villages, by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield—Six Centuries of Work and Wages, by J. E. Thorold Rogers, M.P.—Asser's Life of King Alfred, by W. H. Stevenson—Parish Life in Mediæval England, by Abbot Gasquet—English Children in the Olden Time, by Elizabeth Godfrey—Nottingham Borough Records—Victoria History of the County of Nottingham—History of the Parish and Priory of Lenton,

by J. T. Godfrey—Robin Hood, by Joseph Ritson—Dukery Records, by Robert White—Annals of Nottinghamshire, by Thomas Bailey—Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries, by Abbot Gasquet—The Life of Cardinal Wolsey, by George Cavendish—Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, by R. B. Merriman—The Political History of England: Henry VII. and VIII., by H. A. L. Fisher—The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth, by the Rev. J. Raine—Thomas à Kempis: His Age and Book, by J. E. G. Montmorency—The Priory or House of Nuns of St. Mary of Brodholme, by the Rev. R. E. G. Cole—Beauties of Sherwood Forest, Sissons, Worksop—The Churches and Monasteries of Old and New Nottingham, by A. Stapleton—Before the Great Pillage, by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp—Thomas Cranmer, by A. J. Mason—The Elizabethan Religious Settlement, by H. N. Birt, O.S.B.—Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, by Mrs. Hutchinson—Lives of Nottinghamshire Worthies, by Cornelius Brown—Historical Tales (American), by Charles Morris—The History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, by Professor Gardiner—Select Documents of English Constitutional History, by Adams and Stephens—A Short History of Social Life in England, by M. B. Synce—Sufferings of the Quakers of Nottinghamshire, 1649-89, by Percy J. Cropper—George Fox, by Thos. Hodgkin—Walks round Nottingham—Old Nottinghamshire, by J. P. Briscoe—The Histories of Thoroton, Deering, Blackner, Orange, Wylie, C. Brown, and others—Introduction of Presbyterianism in Nottingham, by the Rev. B. Carpenter—History of Castle Gate Congregational Church, by the Rev. A. R. Henderson—History of Old Nottingham, Notes by J. Grainger—Nottingham Castle, by H. Gill—The Village Church, by H. Gill—Notes on the Churches of Notts., by J. T. Godfrey History of Friar Lane Baptist Church, by J. T. Godfrey and J. Ward—Nottingham Castle, by John Hicklin—Nottingham: Its Castle, by T. C. Hine—Byegone Notts., by W. Stevenson—

Town Life in the 15th Century, by Mrs. Green—Cathedral Builders in England, by E. S. Prior—Notes on Cathedrals—Antiquities in Notts., with Histories of Southwell and Newark, by W. Dickinson—An Account of the Cathedral Church of Southwell, by G. M. Livitt—Royal Forests of England, by J. C. Cox—Rambles in the Country, by Spencer T. Hall—The Forester's Offering, by Spencer T. Hall—History of Newark, by C. Brown—A Guide to Newark, by T. M. Blagg—A History of Retford, by J. S. Piercy—A History of East Retford Church, by A. C. A. Kidson—The History of Mansfield, by W. H. Groves—Transactions of the Thoroton Society—The Pilgrim Fathers of New England, by Dr. John Brown—A History of Crime in England, by L. O. Pike—A Dictionary of British Folk-lore—The Traditional Games of England, etc., by Alice B. Gomme—Sports and Pastimes, by F. W. Hackwood—Bat v. Ball, compiled by J. H. Lester—The English Poor Law System, by Dr. P. A. Aschrott, Prussian District Judge—The Manufacture of Paupers—Practical Housing, by J. S. Nettlefold—Social England, Illustrated, by Andrew Lang—Chambers' Encyclopædia — Some Old English Inns, by G. T. Burrows—Nineteen Centuries of Drinking in England, by Dr. R. V. French—The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields, by Gilbert Slater—The History of the Great Northern Railway, by C. H. Grinling—Iron Roads, by F. S. Williams—The Midland Railway : Its Rise and Progress, by F. S. Williams—Abbotsford and Newstead, by Washington Irving—The History of Greasley, by the Rev. Baron von Hube—Then and Now, by Dean Hole—The Town Wall of Nottingham, by J. Shipman—Nottingham Caves and Nottinghamshire Coal, by A. Stapleton—A Chronology of Inland Navigation, by H. de Salis, etc.

NOTTINGHAM,
October 28th, 1908.

ROBT. MELLORS.

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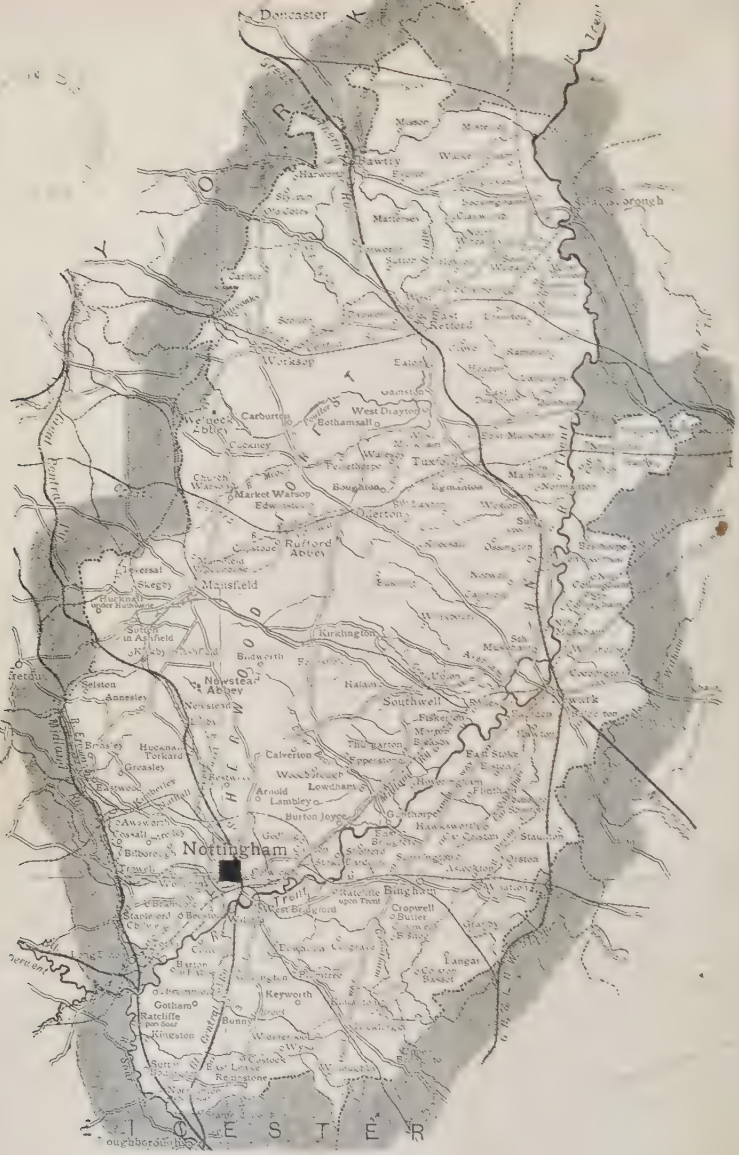

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

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IN AND ABOUT

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

FEATURES OF THE COUNTY.

Young Men and Maidens,

An old Nottinghamshire Boy desiring to have some talk with you raises his hat, and with a profound bow, says:—"Good morning, I hope you are well. Please to give an old boy the pleasure of having a chat with you"; but there being more than a hundred thousand of you, it is quite clear that we cannot talk to all in one place at one time; so come here Mr. Printer and Mr. Postman, and take this written message into each Parish in the County, and into the City.

What shall we talk about? May we talk about ourselves? What can be more interesting? Some people always make themselves the subject of conversation, and having told us of their opinions, or habits, or pleasures, or troubles, finish off by saying, "What a delightful conversation *we* have had." We will not make the like mistake, but will begin by talking about our County.

When King Alfred the Great had re-conquered from the Danes the district then called Mercia—being largely the marshes and woods as well as the towns in Mid-England—he is said to have defined the boundaries of several Counties, of which ours may have been one. Whether he did this, or it was done by his sister Æthelflaed, or more probably by Edward the Elder, or Athelstan, who shortly succeeded, is now of little concern. If we had the magician's wand and alleged power, we should ask one of the rulers to appear before us, and should address the witness something after this fashion:—

"Your Majesty, the subjects of one of your successors desire to know why you fixed the boundaries of our County where they are?" And the reply would probably be something like this:—

"There were very good reasons for that. The great rock at Nottingham stands out so bold and high that it seemed to be formed for the very purpose of the residence of the chief man of a County or district. The cities and strongholds of Derby on the west, of Leicester on the south, of Lincoln on the north-east and Stamford on the south-east, with York at the head of Northumbria on the north, must each have their districts round them. Midway between Derby and Leicester on the one hand, and Nottingham on the other, were the great marshy valleys of what you call the Soar, and the Erewash, which formed natural divisions. At the opposite end and side of the County is the great boundary line of the Trent. Between these, starting from Derbyshire, turning to the right, were parts of the small rivers and brooks of the Soar, Smite, Deven, Shire Dyke, Witham, Foss Dyke, and other streams, short portions of which, together with wapentake limits which may have subsequently been altered, could be used as boundaries; and returning on the western side were what are now called Tindale Bank, Carr's Dyke, part of the Idle, Meden, Erewash, and other streams, with marshes or forests, from which lines were drawn by the authorities, who were appointed to confer with the Wapentakes and local chiefs and earldormen, to some extent consulting the wishes of each parish on such lines as to the County in which they should be included."

"But, Your Majesty, may we ask why those peculiar wedge-like projections or insertions were made, such as the one at Broadholme, going to within five miles of Lincoln city, and the Leicestershire one in which Bottesford is situate, and the one at the extreme north of the County?"

"The reasons were various. The wedge, as you call it, of which Broadholme is the point, forms a division between the parts of Lindsey and Kesteven, and the second you name in like manner forms a division between Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. For these, as well as for those at the northern end of the County, there were sufficiently weighty reasons, either the wishes of the Wapentakes or the local earldormen, or past usage, or reasons of State or otherwise, for the boundaries being fixed where they are."

We must bow ourselves out of the Royal presence, saying, "Many thanks, Your Majesty, for the information given."

When children have received a present, they proceed to examine it all over. We will imitate them.

Walks. We will in fancy walk over the county, and see what good things it contains. Let us begin near the Trent, and proceed on the western side of the county to beyond Worksop, and everywhere we shall see beautiful hills and dales being spoiled by big chimneys and smoke, which tell of great coal mines, brickyards, stone quarries, and also of rich mineral wealth being gotten by hard begrimed toilers, who work in darkness, but live in the light, and it is very gratifying in all the mining villages we pass through to see the greatly improved class of houses occupied by, and in many cases belonging to, the workpeople. Let us take a return, or second walk, through the heart of the county, right away to the great rock of Nottingham Castle, and we shall pass by sand hills, the remains of an ancient sea, with woods, plantations, and moors, and those giant oaks of Sherwood Forest, which are our pride and pleasure, while underneath is the natural reservoir of the finest water in England, so essential to our growing population. We will take a third walk, starting from Sneinton or Carlton Hill, and going right away by Southwell and Tuxford to Misterton, and we shall find that we are going largely over clay formations or marls, and returning by the valley of the Trent to the place near which the Derwent and the Soar fall into the Trent, we shall see rich meadow lands and pastures, with arable fields having excellent crops. Returning, we will take another walk over that singular belt of land extending from Rempstone by Colston Bassett and Orston to South Scarle, called the Lias Strata.

Soils. Over all these areas there is a wonderful provision of the soil, which is capable of growing food for man and beast. When the waters receded, vast ages ago, they left various parts of our county bare, with only sand or mud as a surface covering, such as you may now see in Lincolnshire, where by the Wash the sea is depositing. On that surface grew grasses, which decayed, and were reproduced. Over thousands of years the action of sun, rain, frost, and especially worms formed a soil for the growth of vegetables and other foods for man and beast. That soil

has to be turned, for ventilation and cultivation, to promote the growth of corn, for when not exposed to the light of the sun, and air, and rain, it becomes poisoned, as you will soon discover if you dig up soil from eighteen inches below ground and putting it at the top, ask it to grow the plants you set, and it will refuse. Strangely the soil in one part of the county differs from that in another part. One parish differs from another; nay, even one part of a field a farmer will tell you is bad for the growth of certain things, while another part is good. It is interesting to find, as we shall see later on, that cropping to the surface there are in our county a number of geological formations—it is said a greater number than can be found on a like area anywhere else in the world, which may be an over-statement—and this number to some extent accounts for the wide variation in the character of our soils.

Under these circumstances it is a great advantage that a farmer may send a sample of his soil to the Midland Agricultural and Dairy College, at Kingston, and they will tell him by analysis what crops the soil is best adapted to grow. This difference accounts for the fact that lands around Tuxford are well adapted for fruit purposes; Woodborough for stone fruit; Mapperley and Southwell for roses; red marls for wheat and beans; sand land for barley; blue lias for cheese; river valley grass land for feeding cattle. A load of 160 Swede turnips was taken from a field in Arnold, each turnip weighing a stone weight, and so the 160 turnips weighing a ton showed suitability of soil. So with regard to timber. The fine old oaks of Edwinstowe, and of Heywood, near Blidworth, indicate that they have had a suitable soil. Sutton-in-Ashfield and Kirkby seem to indicate that there was a big field of ash growing and then felled and cleared. I have heard it said that the best timber grows south of the Trent. On the other hand, the oaks forming the "Buck Leap" on the boundary of Bestwood, adjoining Bulwell Forest, are very little larger than they were sixty years ago. The variation of soils is held by some authorities to apply not only to the growth of plants, but even to the variations in the kinds of our cattle. If you go into some counties, or countries, you find that all the cattle look somewhat alike, but in our County they differ. Some land is noted for growing big boned cattle, for instance, such as our limestone pastures, while other land of a less calcareous or limy nature, will not grow cattle so big in stature.

There are some naturalists who are able to tell you the geological formation below by the plants they see growing

on the surface, so attached are certain plants to particular soils.

I am sure you will agree with me that we have in our kidney-potato shaped county a very valuable possession of great variety; with a pleasant course of hill and dale, rivers and streams, forests and cornfields, health-giving and bracing, well adapted to producing a strong race of industrious, hardy, happy people.

Hills. Our hills are not high like those of Derbyshire to the west. Our highest is at Huthwaite, which is 657 feet above sea level. Wild Hill, Teversal, is next with 631 feet; the Hills of Kirkby, 629 feet; Blidworth, 500 feet; Cockpit Hill, Arnold, 508 feet; Dorket Head, 470 feet; The Wolds, 400 feet. On the other hand, Misterton district, much of the land is little above sea level. Trent Bridge at Nottingham is 80 feet; so that with, roughly speaking, a distance of 80 miles thence for the Trent to flow, the fall of the water is about one foot per mile.

A Picture. There is a picture you are so accustomed to see that you do not notice it, and yet it is a picture the like of which you will not—out of Britain—see the wide world over. All around you are small fields enclosed with hedges of hawthorn, hazel, alder, and such-like, bushy or trimmed. The majority of these fields are green grass, with frequent alternating arable, the green predominating. In the hedgerows are trees of oak, ash, elm, or other varieties, standing singly or in groups or plantations. In the fields grazing are cattle of many varieties, with sheep and other animals. Studded about are farm houses, with accompanying buildings, and in the cow yards are cattle eating or treading down hay and straw and other foods. Villages of several good brick built houses and a number of cottages, nearly all having gardens or orchards, growing vegetables and flowers and fruits. In the centre stands the village church with its spire or tower, and often with a yew tree. Small rivulets and brooks are meandering through quiet meadows, and occasional railways with neatly trimmed hedges run through the valleys, while birds of song enliven the glades. Now cherish that picture! If ever you get away from your native country you will do so, and sigh for it; and when you return to it you will exclaim, "Thank God for old England, there is nothing like it."

A Book. The Book of Nottinghamshire is a wonderful book; wonderful not only in what it contains, but also in the fact that it is the only book that every person in the County possesses, and may read if he or she will. The pages number 365—one for each day in the year, and the record on every page differs from the pages that have gone before, or that will follow after. That book tells of sunshine and cloud; of heat and cold; of rain and fine weather; of stormy wind and calm; of men, women and children, no two of whom are alike; of persons born, married, and departing; of joys and sorrows; of health and sickness; of kindnesses done and failures mourned; of knowledge obtained and used, or forgotten and neglected. That book tells of animals, birds, fishes and insects everywhere around; of trees, fruits, plants, and flowers growing; of crops furnishing food for man and beast, rewarding man's industry. Nay, more; that wonderful Nottinghamshire book—or rather the Book of Nature in Nottinghamshire—tells of an infinitely wise God, who cares for His offspring, and sends them rain and fruitful seasons, satisfying them with food and gladness, and seeks for their lives in return. O! for eyes to be opened, to be able to see, to read, to learn, to understand! "It is supposed," says R. L. Stevenson, "that all knowledge is at the bottom of a well, or at the far end of a telescope; as a matter of fact, an intelligent person looking out of his eyes and hearkening in his ears, with a smile on his face all the time, will get more true education than many another in a life of heroic vigils." We should learn first—what is nearest; that which surrounds us; that which concerns our everyday life. There is more to know within our reach than we can in a lifetime learn, for the more we learn, the more shall we feel our ignorance, and to us the most important knowledge is that which we can utilize in our lives, and the first great step in knowledge is "Man, know thyself," and the next step is of still greater importance, for it is the knowledge of God, who is not far from any one of us; for in Him we live and move and have our being. We then proceed to seek to know what is around us, and from knowledge flows duty.

CHAPTER II.

GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS.

It is necessary for us to remember that there has been gradual development in all that is around us and below our feet. There are mighty systems of rock far older than anything that we have, and it is a wonderful story how God, the Creator of all things, laid down those successive formations upon which we live, and move, and have our being.

Coal. Here is a wondrous panorama. We must go back countless ages. Many systems of rock have been laid down, and we come to the Carboniferous system, with its coal measures. Let us imagine that what we now call the western part of Nottinghamshire is a great swamp, with the land partly in the water and partly out, with a warm moist atmosphere and rank vegetation, chiefly huge ferns; and these grow on and on; for someone has said that it would take a thousand years to form the vegetable deposit, which, pressed together and covered over, would generate gases and mould into three feet of coal. And now we must suppose the growth of vegetation in our district to cease, for the water brings mud consisting of sandstone, shale, grit, clunch, bind, ironstone, clay, etc., depositing them from twenty to five hundred feet in thickness; and then there is another growth of vegetation, and another seam of coal, and so on through succeeding ages, resulting in there being twenty-six seams of coal in Nottinghamshire, the names of which are given by Prof. Blake in the *Victorian History*. Each seam varies in thickness and quality, and in the thickness of the dirt deposit, and the whole was covered over and shut up until the right time came for it to be gotten, when the Great Creator said to His children, "I have prepared a valuable deposit that will warm and comfort you; rise, and delve, and obtain it." These coal measures form the ground of a strip reaching from Stapleford to Teversal, and include the parishes, or parts thereof, of Trowell, Wollaton, Bilborough, Strelley, Cossall, Awsworth, Watnall, Eastwood, Greasley, Brinsley, Selston, Kirkby, Huthwaite, Skegby, and Teversal, with various other hamlets, a part of a great coalfield stretching out into Derbyshire and Yorkshire, the coal dipping below the newer formations.

Limestone. We will now leave the coal, and look at a newer formation called the Lower Magnesian Limestone that is found under Worksop, Cresswell Crags, Norton Cuckney, Nether Langwith, Mansfield, Sutton, Kirkby, Linby, Hucknall Torkard, Bulwell, Nuthall, Basford (west part), and which runs out at Bilborough and Bobbers Mill. It is fine stone for building our houses, and is supposed to have been deposited by a large inland lake, whose waters were in some way heavily charged with salts of lime and magnesia, so that it is said to yield half its weight of magnesium sulphate—or in other words, Epsom Salts. The Southwell Cathedral, the Martyrs Memorial at Oxford, and the lower part of the Houses of Parliament were built of stone taken from Mansfield Woodhouse. A portion of the House of Lords, the Parish Church, Doncaster, and the Hall at Thoresby are built of Streetley stone, which is just within the Derbyshire boundary.

Sandstone. What a wonderful formation is that new red sandstone that begins at Nottingham Castle, like the big toe of a great foot, and runs right through Sherwood Forest to Bawtry, and in Yorkshire runs on to Pomfret Castle, where it ends. How useful would be its caves in the far off times as a shelter for man from wild beasts and from inclement weather, as naturally formed, or artificially cut, in the Castle Rock, or on Castle Boulevard, or the Hermitage, or Mansfield, or elsewhere. How strange are its pebble beds, and its varied colours! Millions on millions of small stones that have been knocked about in the sea for ages are in layers, or scattered about, or left on the top of hills, as may be seen at Annesley, five hundred feet above sea level, and elsewhere at lower levels. Ah! those hills of Annesley, "bleak and barren," as Lord Byron calls them, where the golf men play; what mighty winds must have blown up the sands of that old sea beach, and what mighty waters must have washed the sand down the Leen Valley! We know the gravel is at Beeston, and in many other places, but where did it come from? Swift currents must have torn the stones from rocks, and borne them on mighty sea waves, and ground and worn them as we now see them. Sand and gravel is said to cover nearly half the County.

"The hills are shadows and they flow
From form to form and nothing stands;
They melt like mists the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go."

There are no healthier sites for men to build houses on than on our sand rock, and there is no finer water for them to drink, of which we have enough for the supply of all the inhabitants in the County, and for all the farm houses; but we have no well considered scheme of distribution. The first comer takes it, and others suffer.

Marls. Over the Sandstone rock there is another valuable provision for our house building, namely, the clays called the Upper Keuper Marls. These beds of clay alternating with sand are formed in a long narrow strip running west and north-west of the Trent from Misterton on the north to Sneinton on the south, with a small patch again at Chilwell. On the other side of the Trent they run in a narrow strip through our County right away from North Clifton to the Soar. The range of hills reaching from beyond Arnold (Dorket Head) through Mapperley to Carlton is a fine example of these clays. There is a saying that "Nottingham once stood on Mapperley Hills," and from these clays one company and its founders have made more than one thousand million bricks.

Gypsum. After these formations comes the Gypsum deposits, of which Newark and Gotham may be named as examples, and after the gypsum comes the lias of alternate beds of clay or shale and of limestone, having many fossils of extinct animals.

Deposits. There are in the County many places where the waters have carried away the hill sides, and formed river deposits. In the Trent Valley there is in some places twenty feet deep of gravel, sand, peat, or other formations washed from the hills; at Bingham and other parts of the County there is black soil and alluvial clay, telling of ancient lakes.

When we look at the making of a railway cutting, and see the great steam digger forcing itself by and scooping out and depositing, where required, tons of material at each motion, we exclaim "Wonderful! How clever of the Inventor!" What, however, shall we exclaim when we see the great digger called the sea carrying off ceaselessly and depositing millions of tons of soil, and thus forming, by a mighty hidden force, lands for the service of man with strange chemical properties; now receding, and now overwhelming the deposit, yet working apparently to a purpose and plan. With the song we sing:—

"Beautiful, sublime, and glorious,
Mild, majestic, foaming, free,
Over Time itself victorious,
Image of Eternity:
Such art thou, Stupendous Ocean,
But, if overwhelmed by thee,
Can we think without emotion
What must thy Creator be!"

The watchmaker is greater than the watch; the Creator than His creation. "In the beginning God"; and matter, life, and conscience, follow His fiat "Let there be"; "And it was so."

Upheaval. We must notice an event, of which there is no written record, that happened countless ages ago, and which largely affected our County. It is supposed that all the coal measures of Derbyshire and Lancashire on the west, and Nottinghamshire on the east, were continuous, when there arose a mighty upheaval, which raised the hills of Derbyshire—the Pennine Range—to an enormous height, carrying the old rocks that we now see to their present elevation, and lifting all the coal measures to the top of the then existing hills, which were in succeeding ages washed off, leaving the old rocks bare; and the portions washed off having been on our side deposited in Lincolnshire and elsewhere. The result of this uplifting was that most of our coal seams and other deposits dip or fall to the east, while those of Lancashire, on the other side of the Pennine Range, dip to the west. If you look at the great rocks at Matlock or at Millers Dale, or elsewhere, you will see that they have been rent, torn and twisted in all directions, and lifted or depressed in an extraordinary manner, and the water that comes from these hills has had to cut its way through the crevices and sunken places until it gets to the level land, and flows ultimately into the Trent.

The Ice Age. One of the most wonderful changes that ever happened to our planet was the Ice Age. We have seen how, that when the coal was being formed below our County, there was a warm tropical climate; but there came a time when there were periods of Arctic cold, alternating with milder weather. The land was covered with huge glaciers, and ice of great thickness, accompanied by intense cold. The land sank, and where our County now stands was at the bottom of the sea. The land rose again with an

intensely cold atmosphere, and great ice sheets forced their way down from the hills, and through the valleys, cutting out the way for our present rivers. Gradually the ice passed away; a more temperate climate prevailed; and wild animals came. How long it is since this occurred no man knows. Professor Kendall suggests that it is twenty-five thousand years since the ice departed from Yorkshire, but some writers suggest much longer. Lord Avebury says, "There can be no doubt that he (man) was here soon after the final disappearance of glacial conditions, and co-existed with the mammoth, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the musk-sheep, the gigantic Irish elk, the great bear, and the cave lion." Sir Oliver Lodge goes back further still, and says in his *Substance of Faith*—"At present the earth is dominated by Man; but at one time it was mastered by gigantic reptiles, larger than any land creature of to-day, the remains of which are occasionally found fossilized into stone and embedded in the rocks, fit to be collected and preserved in museums. For millions of years the earth was inhabited by creatures no higher than these; the progress upward has been slow and patient, time is infinitely long, and the great history of the world is still working itself out." That great scientist and devoutly religious man who recently departed—Lord Kelvin—wrote referring to some articles he had written, which he says "make a strong body of evidences that the age of the earth as an abode fitted for life cannot probably be vastly greater than twenty million years." We are unable to grasp such a vast period, but must remember that Moses three thousand years ago anticipated the difficulty, and said in his prayer, "A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night."

CHAPTER III.

OUR FIRST EXPLORER.

What kind of a man first walked over our County? Was he a civilized man, or a savage? Probably his clothing would be skins; his food would perhaps be berries, acorns, and some kinds of roots, with fishes and trapped animals—possibly venison or wild boar. What dangers he would incur from wild beasts! He would possibly have learned how that by rubbing two pieces

of wood together, or by flints, he could make a spark, and so with much difficulty and many failures, could get a fire to cook his food and to lighten up the dark nights. He might have learnt to use the molten fat of the animals killed to make a torch by means of a stick and dried grass or rushes. There would be no roads or bridges, and the rivers would be larger then than now, and there would be many marshes and swamps, but the larger part would be forest.

Caves. There might be some caves at what we now call Nottingham, Papplewick, Mansfield, and elsewhere, some of which, however, have been hewn out since that time. There were some caves in the ravine at Cresswell Craggs, near Welbeck, the principal of which are on the Derbyshire side of the water, but one—the Church Hole—is in Nottinghamshire. In Robin Hood's Cave on the other side of the ravine, somebody long before Roman times etched with a flint point on a fragment of rib, a spirited sketch of a wild horse with an upright or hog mane. It was buried under many feet of rocky deposit, which lay under a dark stratum of earth containing fragments of Roman pottery. This sketch would be made by a skilled man, and not by one of the ordinary people, who would have no knowledge of drawing. This sketch is said to be similar to others found in caves in France, and from which it is assumed that French emigrants came over here. The difficulty, however, of the early inhabitants occupying the caves would be that the wild beasts occupied them both before and after.

In 1875 the Rev. J. M. Mello, M.A., F.G.S., examined these caves and found the remains of Man, lion, wild cat, spotted hyæna, Arctic fox, wolf, glutton, grizzly bear, brown bear, Irish elk, reindeer, bison, horse, woolly rhinoceros, mammoth, wild boar, polecat, etc. The remains of Man included bone, awls and needles, flint implements, chopping block, hammer, stones, etc. Professor Boyd Dawkins considered that these remains may imply that the caves were used as a shelter by Neolithic, or later stone age tribes, as well as by Paleolithic, or earlier stone age hunters, and by Roman British refugees. This would cover some thousands of years, including the stone and bronze ages, which, in point of time, differ in different parts of the world; but, roughly speaking, the earlier stone age may be taken as B.C.1400, and the later thence to B.C.900, and the iron age thence to the Romans.

In a cave at Pleasley, by the banks of the Meden, which separates the County from Derbyshire, Dr. Ransom (who recently died among us) found the skull of a lynx, in addition to several of the animals named, now preserved in the Nottingham Natural History Museum, which Institution has several molar teeth of the mammoth found in the Trent Valley.

The bones of these animals tell of vast changes in the climate, some of them indicating ages of Arctic cold, and some of warm or temperate atmosphere. The remains found in Cresswell Caves are similar to those found in Kent's Cavern and Brixham Cave, Torquay; and in the Torquay Museum these remains are stored and exhibited in a highly interesting and scientific manner. There are similar caves near Wells, and in Glamorganshire. Dr. Rice Holmes, in *Ancient Britain* says: "Heaps of bones have been found in all of them, which proved that the men who from time to time inhabited them were comtemporary, like those whose tools are recovered from the river-drift, with animals, of which some, like the mammoth, the straight-tusked elephant, and the saber-toothed tiger, have disappeared from the face of the earth, and many have long been extinct in Britain." (p. 57.)

Huts. It might be that by the sides of our river swamps the early inhabitants would have learnt to cut down trees, and drive piles into the soft earth, and then to fix a timber framed hut, plastered with mud on a raised platform, and cover the top with reeds, as men did in the Glastonbury district, and elsewhere, or there might be pit dwellings.

In those days our County would be very largely forest, and afterwards, when the forest became populated to a certain extent, men would be hunters, going in tribes from place to place, or they would go for pasture with their flocks and herds; they would thereupon have to make rough enclosures of stones to protect their cattle, and either tents or rude huts for themselves, and as things became more settled, our villages would come to be formed, and so also our rude hill forts, of which we have several, would be made for defence.

Implements used by man in prehistoric times have been found in various parts of the County, such as roughly-sharpened flints, rough and well-wrought arrow heads, polished flints, fluted and perforated axe heads, spear heads, stone hatchets, and many others. Some of the objects found in a

hoard of bronze implements in Great Freeman Street, Nottingham, in 1860, are now in the Museum, and others in the Castle. (See *Victorian History.*) A number of bronze implements were found at Newark in 1877, and are described in Mr. Brown's *History of Newark.*

Referring to submerged forests, Dr. Rice Holmes says: "Besides the implements that lay beneath the submerged forests, there have been found in the bed of the Trent [? Muskham] and in the Barn Marshes, thirty feet below the surface, skulls which are so far different from those that have been recovered from burrows and caverns, as to suggest that the oldest Neolithic invaders may have belonged to another stock." *Ancient Britain,* p. 63.

Questions without end may be asked, and cannot be answered, with regard to our earlier settlers, and as to their women and children; as to their weapons and ornaments; as to their religion, worship of the sun; the Druids, etc. It is singular that not a single statue of pre-Roman date has ever been found in Britain. Holmes, p. 285. We know a little, and surmise much. Our knowledge is gradually extending. Every cave explored, and observation made, adds to the sum of our knowledge; but still, how little we know!

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

The Romans began the conquest of Britain in the year A.D. 43-4. When Julius Cæsar came, nearly one hundred years earlier—B.C. 55—there were exports, not only of tin, lead, and other metals, but also of cattle, hides, wheat and barley, and at that time the country was rich in agricultural produce. The conquest involved terrible scenes of slaughter and violence, but the Roman rule was generally just, and for the good of the country. Previously the country had been divided by many tribes, who frequently quarrelled with one another. The Romans established one united government. They made great roads through big forests and over great swamps, with bridges built of timber on stone piers, and so helped to develop the resources of the country; but it is probable that

the roads, such as the Fosse—a splendid road running across England from the south-west, by Leicester and Newark to Lincoln—and the road from Lincoln to Doncaster, and the road from Mansfield to Southwell and Newark, were made with enforced labour. Tacitus states in his History that the Britons complained that the Romans "put their hands and bodies to the drudgery of clearing woods and paving fens, accompanying their blows with insults." There were some grievances of which the people complained, one of which was that they were liable to conscription, to be sent into foreign countries, and consequently a young fellow sent abroad would have no certainty of seeing his home or friends again. The enforced labour, too, would be bitterly disliked. Still there was generally peace, and this gave security to property. They also put an end to human sacrifices. Many of our villages claim—though some of them with slender grounds—to have been stations, or settlements, of the Romans. Roman relics have been found in some of them. Among them are the following :—Attenborough, Barton, Bingham, Blidworth, East Bridgford, Broughton, Carburton, Collingham, Brough, Farndon, Flawborough, Grove, Hickling, Langford, Littleborough, Mansfield, Mansfield Woodhouse, Newark, Nottingham, Southwell, Stanford, Stapleford, Willoughby, and Woodborough. Let us look at several examples.

Brough. Of the several stations in our County, that at Brough, in the parish of South Collingham, and called by the Romans Crocolana, being twelve miles from Lincoln, is definitely fixed, and has been partly excavated. Mr. T. Cecil S. Woolley has an interesting paper in the Transactions of the Thoroton Society for 1906. He says that the character of the soil and other indications point to an area of some forty acres as having been included within the inhabited area, so that it must have been a place of some importance. Not only the buildings have been removed, but many of the foundations have been interfered with ; still, a part of the foundations of a wall five feet thick have been found. "The mud walls of the Roman house at Brough were carefully plastered inside, and painted in various patterns, the colours still remaining quite vivid." These illustrations show over thirty specimens of Romano-British pottery, iron and bronze objects, and grey ware found, and give some idea of the life and habits of the people. These include bowls, plain and ornamented vases, urns, bottles, jars, fragments of cooking utensils, knives, a combination of a hoe and two-tined pick,

bucket handle, drill or brace bit, stilus or pen, etc. Other articles of personal ornaments in bone, metals, and enamel, tiles, glass, coins, etc., were also found. It is to be hoped that Mr. Woolley will be able to continue the experimental excavations which promise so much in telling us of how the Romans and the people of the County then lived.

Newark. In the History of Newark Mr. C. Brown gives illustrations of coins, etc., found in and around Newark, and gives particulars with regard to discoveries there and at Willoughby, Bingham (Castle Hill), and elsewhere, and Mr. Dickinson, in his History of the Antiquities of Southwell (p. 92), refers to the foundations of an immense bridge, which, owing to the extreme dryness of the summers of 1792-3, were exposed in the Trent near to the little village of Winthorpe, and which he believed to have been a Roman bridge.

Mansfield. In the History of Mansfield, by Mr. Groves, is given a report of a discovery of the foundations of a Roman villa, made by Major Rooke at Mansfield Woodhouse in 1786-7 (pp. 65-74), and reference is made to Roman encampments near Berry Hill, Pleasley Park, Whinney Hill, Rainworth Water, and to the discovery of five hundred Roman coins, one of which was 2400 years old.

Customs. We will turn from the many interesting questions arising out of the Roman occupation, and merely mention several customs they have left us; thus, our marriage ceremonies are all Roman,—the ring, the veil, the wedding gifts, the groomsmen, the bridesmaids, the cake. Our funeral ceremonies are Roman,—the cypress, the yew, the sprinkling of dust on the coffin, the flowers strewn on graves, the black for mourning. The lucky and unlucky days are Roman; so is our faith in odd numbers. A few words we use are Roman. Thus, the names of the months, January, July, August, etc.; also the words "street" and "candle." No doubt a Roman influence operates in some of our laws, but not much, for the Saxons brought their laws with them, as the Romans had introduced wine, and the custom of toasting, or health-drinking.

National Training. While the rule of the Romans was of great service to our country, not only by their good government, but also by the fact that they kept foreign wild nations from our shores, yet their system had one fatal defect in that the natives were not trained to defend

themselves. The army consisted of foreigners, and the natives were merely onlookers ; when, therefore, the Romans withdrew, the natives had no self-reliance, and were comparatively helpless in defending their hearths and homes. The result was that when invasion took place, the invaders carried all before them, and the Saxons destroyed what it had taken the Romans hundreds of years to build up. It is pitiable to read in the Annals of Northumberland the appeals of the natives to the Romans to come back and save them from the Picts and Scots.

The use of history is to teach lessons from the past for the benefit of the present, and we need to lay this lesson to heart. Thank God that our shores have not for eight hundred years been successfully invaded, and we may well hope that they may never be again. We must meanwhile cultivate the habits of peace, and be prepared, by training and self-reliance, for whatever may happen, until the happy day arrives when all nations will cease to fight.

A Warning. At present the nations of Europe, as well as Japan, have compulsory national training and service, and pile up their burdens of sacrifice of time and taxes to an extent grievous to be borne. We, on the other hand, go to an opposite extreme, and reject both service and training. After long observation, and much thought, I am coming to the conclusion that our course is unwise, and awfully risky. Our young fellows lack patriotism, and the sense of the obligation that it is each and every man's duty to defend our shores. They lack the smartness and ready adaptation to circumstances which training brings. They do not perceive the advantages to be derived through training of respect for authority, obedience to command, courtesy in manner, skill in handling. Our physical development would be promoted by general outdoor exercise, while we should get rid of the idea that our duty is satisfied by paying another man to do our fighting ;—an essentially mischievous idea, that shirks duty, and promotes "jingoism." We claim and individually exercise all our national rights and privileges. We must now personally discharge our national obligations, lest an irretrievable catastrophe overtakes us, which will best be prevented by readiness, and may be courted by neglect. Our Empire, our trade, our food supply, all demand that our young men shall be ready when wanted.

Nemesis. The two evils of the lack of training, and the absence of self-reliance, formed not only the affliction of the people when the Romans departed, but what had caused it became the curse of the Romans. The Romans had governed from the selfish standpoint of what would give them the least trouble, not what would do the people over whom they ruled the most good, and selfishness always brings its own retribution, for the result of this policy was not only that they left the British exposed and untrained, but neither the British, nor any other people over whom they ruled, could help them in their hour of trial; consequently the Roman Empire fell: fell through its own selfishness, in accordance with a law of retribution which God Almighty has fixed as a self-acting penalty on nations, as well as on individual action.

Revelation. Is it not strange that the Romans, with their splendid code of laws, their successful form of government, their policy of developing the resources of any country over which they ruled, should, like the Greeks with their art, civilization and wisdom, have been unable to discover God, and so have made gods like unto themselves, instead of making themselves like God? Why was it that only a small despised nation could lay hold of the sublime truth, "Hear! O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might"; and that further sublime truth, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth"?

CHAPTER V.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

We should much like to know to what extent, and by whom, the Christian religion was introduced to England in the far off times of the Roman occupation and rule, but unfortunately all records have been destroyed in the wars of succeeding years. It is probable that some of the Roman soldiers who came and went to various parts of our country, and it may be in our County, told the glad tidings of the gospel message that had blessed their own souls, and would bless those who heard. Tertullian,

a writer of the second century, says that "the homes of the Britons, though they could not be captured by the Roman soldiers, were subject to Christ." (Rev. V. Hornyold.)

To what extent was the gospel preached to our forefathers in those far off days, before the Church became rich, debased, struggling for political power, and engrossed in property administration? Did the Church present itself to the people as carrying on the very work which the Messiah said He came to do when He said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord"; for this is the same gospel and work He directed His disciples to continue, and the proof He gave the disciples of John of His Messiahship was that He was doing that very kind of work. Did the Church tell men heavily cursed by man's wrongs, and burdened with their own misdoings, that the Great Sin Bearer had said, "Come unto Me, and I will give you rest"? Did they teach men that when the Son of Man shall come in His glory we shall be judged, not by our creeds, or ceremonies, or church order, but by our works? God knows! We must leave it, but we would fain know that the ambassadors fairly represented their Lord.

The state of Britain during the reigns of Claudius and Nero is said to have attracted the attention of the whole of the Roman Empire, and intercourse with the new province and the seat of government was increasing. The writer of *The Chronicles of the Ancient British Church* says that "at that time there were no fewer than 48,000 Roman soldiers, including their auxiliaries, in this country, some of whom must have been well acquainted with the religion of Christ." The old traditions of the gospel being preached in England by S. Paul, and at Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathea, may be rejected for want of evidence; but there must have been a great number of those persons of ordinary position in life who having believed, went everywhere preaching the Word, to justify the testimony of Justin Martyr, who flourished about the year 145, and who wrote: "There is not a nation, either of Greek or barbarian, or of any other name—even of those who wander in tribes and live in tents, among whom prayers

and thanksgivings are not offered to the Father and Creator of the universe by the name of the crucified Jesus." (p. 43.)

Persecution. A terrible persecution raged in the earliest years of the third century, under the Emperor Severus, who died at York in 212.

This is not the place to go into the evidence of the establishment of churches at Llandaff, Bangor, Dover, Glastonbury, Winchester, and elsewhere. In 303 the Diocletian persecution began, when a wicked edict was published for the demolition of the churches, the burning of their books, and for the removal of all Christians who held any public office. Copies of the edict were immediately sent to all the provinces. Gildas, the British historian, who wrote probably about 150 years after the Roman departure, tells how the churches were demolished throughout the whole empire, the Holy Scriptures searched for and burnt in the streets, the priests and the people dragged to the shambles and butchered like sheep. Many British Christians were despatched with diversity of tortures, and torn limb from limb in a most barbarous and cruel manner; that those who escaped the fury of their persecutors retired to woods and deserts, and hid themselves in caves where they continued confessors, till God was pleased to revenge their usage upon their persecutors, and afford better times to the Church. As York was the head-quarters of the Romans for the North, and our County approaches within fifty or sixty miles of that city, and the highway from London to York goes through it, let us hope that the woods of our County and the caves of our City gave shelter to many of the persecuted fugitives. The martyrdom of St. Alban, about A.D.286, is well worthy of the attention of young people, as is also the venerable pile of St. Albans Cathedral, which Offa, King of Mercia, founded in 793. The ruins of Verulam near by—the city of that day—are also of great interest.

Dean Spence (*Early Christianity and Paganism*) is of opinion that although Constantius Chlorus, our Emperor, signed the persecuting decree, it was to a considerable extent ignored here, and in the other parts of his dominions, the horrors of it being exercised in Southern Europe, Africa, and elsewhere, under the control of Galerius, where for ten years the Christians had an awful time of suffering. It may be that the sufferings of the Christians in Britain were limited to two years, or altogether to sudden outbursts of local malice, for

which occasion was given by the proclamation. Certain it is that Constantius Chlorus was a great and good ruler, who favoured the Christians, either upon the broad principle of toleration, or from his belief in it, for he is represented as "dedicating to the One God his wife and children, his palace, and all that dwelt in it," and he was invariably kind and gentle to all his subjects, a complete contrast to the rule of many Roman powers of the period. He became Cæsar in 292, and one of the two Augustines in 305, but he died at York in 306, when his son Constantine, afterwards surnamed "the Great," was proclaimed his successor, for the dying emperor had commended his son to the legionaries, and they at York thereupon saluted him as Emperor. "He at once published an edict so favourable to the Christians of his provinces, that the very semblance of all persecution at once ceased." This seems to give an air of probability to the suggestion that his mother, Queen Helena, was a Christian, and influenced her son, as well as to favour the representation that Helena was of York. About 312 Constantine is said to have seen at noon the vision of the Flaming Cross inscribed "By this, conquer." In 313 an edict at Milan gave civil rights and toleration to Christians throughout the whole of the Empire, and during the latter years of his life Christianity became the State religion, the pagan temples were closed, and sacrifices forbidden. A short time before his death he was baptized, and he died 22 July, 337.

Rest. Upon toleration being allowed, as Gildas and Bede inform us, the faithful Christians, who during the time of danger had hidden themselves in woods, deserts, and secret caves, appearing in public, rebuilt the churches which had been levelled with the ground.

In the third century there were three Roman provinces in Britain: first, Maxima Cæsariensis, which took in most of the Midlands, including what is now our County, the metropolis of which was at Eboracum (York), the other two being Britannia Prima, with Londinium as its head, and Britannia Secunda, with Carleolum as its head, and Wales as its district. The Bishop of York was superior to the two other Bishops, as York was the seat of the Roman Emperors when they visited Britain.

British Bishops were present at the first General Council held at Nicæ, in Asia Minor, in 325, and at the Council of

Sardica in 347, and at other Councils. Of course the attendance of Bishops at foreign Councils does not tell us much, but Bishops would represent churches, and churches were made up of peoples, and these would be sufficiently numerous and have sufficient money to be able to pay the expenses of journeys to such far off places, although doubtless the Bishops went in great simplicity, and with the hospitality of churches on the route. At the end of the fourth century there was a settled Church in Britain, with churches, altars, scriptures, discipline, holding the Catholic faith, and having intercourse with both Rome and Palestine. (Hadden and Stubbs.)

CHAPTER VI.

THE SAXON IMMIGRATION.

When the Romans withdrew, about the year 410, our country was given up to tyranny at home, and to various invaders from abroad. The Picts and Scots came from the North and plundered the Midlands, while some thirty years after the Roman withdrawal, a mixture of Engles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians came from Germany, the Engles being the principal tribe. We in the Trent Valley came principally from Sleswick, or Schleswig, the district north of the River Eider, which separates the district so called from Holstein, in which is located Kiel, where our butter largely comes from. The Eider flows from the Baltic district in the east, towards the German Ocean in the west. The Engles, or Angles, chiefly lived in East Sleswick, the interior was occupied by the Jutes, and the west by the Frisians, while the Saxons came from districts south of the Eider, and having in East Anglia and the West of England obtained political supremacy, it came to pass that we were called Anglo-Saxons.

There is, or was, a Welsh tradition that the present counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Nottingham, and Derby, were already occupied by a people called the Coritavi, who were Germans having migrated from a Teutonic marshland. (Kemble, p. 9.)

Sleswick. Now let us look for a minute at the district we came from. The Baltic coast forming the east of Sleswick is hilly and fertile, but the western part is largely

moorland with sandy patches of soil covered with heather, gorse, and broom, and formerly there were large marshes, now drained, but then often covered by the high tides of the sea. Especially was this the case in the many islands lying on the western coast of Sleswick, and the nearest to England. The result of the poverty of the soil, and losses by storms and floods, was that the people were very poor, for cattle could not live on the salt marshes, and fish was the principal article of diet.

When, in the fourth century, the Danes, who lived on the northern boundary of Sleswick, pressed upon the Angles, and they on the Saxons, there was a movement westward to England, and when these reported the much greater fertility of the soil, gradually, over a hundred years, their kinsmen followed, and coming up the Humber, those who turned south of the Trent were called South-humbrians, and these by fire and sword drove away to Wales and the West the Britons who had lands and houses in the Trent Valley, and took possession. The Saxons were in Kent one hundred years or more before the Angles came up the Trent. The Jutes landed in Kent in 450, from which time battles became common, the more so when the Saxons followed in 477 ; but the map of England in 550 shows our County as still a part of the occupation by the Britons. By 584, however, we are marked as Angles, belonging to the Middle English, and by 626 as Mercians, under the influence of North-humber-land. When the invasion of the Angles took place it was easy with their ships to enter the rivers flowing into the sea. Their way up the Thames had been barred by the fortress of London, but entering by the Humber a way was opened to the heart of the country. Turning from the Humber into the Trent they filled the cleared part of Nottinghamshire, and, passing by Nottingham, they turned to the right up the Derwent into Derbyshire ; or by the left up the Soar into Leicestershire ; or keeping right on they founded Repton, and beyond there settled in Staffordshire.

There was in 617 a battle on the River Idle between the Northumbrians and East Anglians, where the King of the former was slain, but as soon as possible the invaders, having taken possession, quieted down to work, and resorted to their farming. They brought with them their system of laws, and bound themselves in ties of family or tribe, so that their attacks and defences were under common agreement, and a

wrong done was punished by the tribe, and a penalty paid to its head. The mound, or tree, where they assembled monthly, judged cases, and settled boundaries, is still in various places pointed out, as handed down by tradition, as the Court of the Hundred. Their chief men were called "eorls," or "ealdormen," who stood at the head of justice for the County, and of the military force; and at the bottom of the social scale were slaves, either so born, or made such by war, crime, or poverty, but the slavery was not usually of a cruel type.

Mercia. When the conquest by the Engles was complete, we in Nottinghamshire, about 597, came under the power of the Jutes, whose King, Ethelbert, conquered the Mercians, of whom we formed part. He married Bertha, the daughter of a Frankish King of Paris, she being a Christian, and a Christian bishop accompanied her from Gaul to Canterbury. Gregory the Great was Pope at the time, and he, when only a deacon, having seen some English youths who were being sold as slaves in the market place at Rome, enquired from what country they came, and being told "They are English-Angles," exclaimed "Not Angles, but angels, with faces so angel-like"; and when he became Pope he sent Augustine, who re-introduced into our country Christianity, which had been extinguished by the heathen religions brought in by the heathen Saxons.

Between, roughly speaking, the years 600 and 800, there was a constant struggle for mastery between the Britons or Saxons, or between Northumbrians on the one side, and the West Saxon Kings, or East Anglians on the other; and we Mercians, being between them, were always in trouble: now the one side conquering, and now the other—for it never seemed to have occurred to them to all join in one combination for the good of all. There is little in this period that can interest us so far as our County is concerned, for it must be remembered the land was largely still forest (and fens nearly one hundred miles long severed East Anglia from the Midland Counties), and the lonely farmer, or the groups of farmers, settling in sites that are now our villages, would be occupied in felling trees, and cultivating the land cleared, while probably the farmer's hut for his family, and his sheds for his cattle, would be very primitive. The Saxons did not like towns, but always sought for the country, where they could best cultivate the land.

Names. The place names in our County will to some extent aid us in realizing the settlements made by the invaders in their several locations. Nottingham City, being a County of itself, has recently annexed five parishes out of the County; others have been annexed to adjoining parishes, so that there are now 265 separate parishes in the County. Their names are instructive. Eighty-six of them have "ton" as a suffix, which, though Anglo-Saxon in character, is supposed to be of Celtic origin, and telling of the villages settled by some chief or tribe whose names they bear. There are twenty-three "hams." The thirteen places with the suffix "by," and seventeen with "thorpe," tell us of the extent of Danish settlements, when we were under the Dane-law, the former being a Norse term originally denoting a single farm, and afterwards a village, and it will be interesting to look at the map, and see how the "thorpes" are located not far from the Trent, and chiefly in the district of Southwell and Newark; and assuming that the Danes conquered this part of Mercia about 877, we shall see the time when these places were settled by their new inhabitants. Other names tell of "leys," or grass lands; of fields, of woods, ash or oak trees; of wolds, hills, moors, cliffs, becks, bridges, fords, pools, wells, stocks, cotes, steads, etc. The mark or boundary of land held by a community, and divided for either united or separate cultivation, had a very important position with our forefathers, and Mr. Kemble is of opinion that the following places in our County indicate the name of the ancestor or founder of the local family, and with an allusion to the fields or district marked off:—

Æceringas (Eakring)
Bassingas (Bassingfield)
Becconjas (Beckingham)
Bonningas (Bonnington)
Cerringas (Carrington)
Cyrclingas (Kirklington)
Codingas (Coddington)
Collingas (Collingham)
Edingas (Edingley)
Finningas (Finningley)
Gedlingas (Gedling)
Hicelingas (Hickling)
Hoferingas (Hoveringham)
Lexingas (Lexington)
Mæringas (Mering)
Niwingas (Newington)
Nottingas—may have commenced with an "H"—(Nottingham)
Ossingas (Ossington)
Rudingas (Ruddington)
Scearingas (Scarrington)
Wealeringas(Walkeringham)
Wealingas (Wallingwells)

It is singular that Nottingham should have completely lost the name it bore in the British language—Tigguocobauc.

Laxton. The Saxon system of land tenure has survived more fully at Laxton than in other parts of our County. The property belongs to Earl Manvers. It contains about 900 acres, and is divided into 1,200 plots. Mr. Wordsworth says; "They are cropped in rotation there: one field, white straw; one field, pulse or clover; one field, bare fallow. Each of the tenants, of whom there are thirty, has a certain acreage in each field, and most of them small pieces dotted about, so as to give them a bit of each class of soil which the field contains, and there are many. To have one acre in any one part is considered quite a large piece; many do not occupy half that quantity. There are juries chosen annually to go over each field, to see that the avenues interspersed in them are not encroached upon, and that no one ploughs nearer to the road than he should."

King Compromise. This complicated system of land tenure involved so many occasions of dispute, with half an acre here, and half an acre there, necessitating often giving and taking; and this system, working side by side with the pastoral habits of the Celts, and the hunting of the Normans, Dr. Gilbert Slater suggests that the result developed a national system of compromise. There are two Kings reigning in England: King Edward whom God preserve—and another King, one Compromise. The promoter of a Bill before Parliament never gets all he wants: he has to accept as much as he can get. In a law suit, a judge, where he can do so, splits the difference. The Prayer Book throughout avoids extremes of doctrine and ritual; and so on through every walk of life. But the Scots had not all these blendings of tenure and society, and so their contentions in politics and religion were the more fierce; and even now, having cheap law, the Scotch property owner will go to law on small occasion, and fight like a "Briton"—not an Englishman; while your Irishman is a born and brave soldier, or an Orangeman, and he enjoys the fun of a "row."

Clifton Pasture. This is an interesting example of the old system of tenure. The area is 330 acres, of which 37 acres is glebe. The whole is apportioned to tenants of Sir Hervey Bruce, and is let with the Clifton farms, that is, each farm has a certain number of "gates," some having more, and some less. A "gate" is $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. A yearling horse or cow is reckoned to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres; above a yearling, $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres. The rules and regulations are all made by a com-

mittee of the tenants, at which Mr. Haynes, the landlord's agent, presides. It is usual to turn cattle in about the end of April, and to remove them at Martinmas. A man is appointed during that time to look after the cattle, and a rate is levied to pay for his wages, and other expenses (such as brook cleaning), usually 2/- or 2/6 a "gate." The rent of the "gates" is included in the rent of the farm. These customs have prevailed from time immemorial. There are traces of the land having been ploughed.

Religion. The royal families of every Anglo-Saxon kingdom trace their descent from Woden, whose day is kept alive in our Wednesday, as well as in the names of many places. Thursday tells of Donar, or Dunor, or Thunar. Tuesday reminds us of Tiw, the old Norse Tyr; Friday of Frea. Balderton seems to come from Baldaeg, in old Norse, Baldr. Mr. Kemble says: "The word 'Bealder' very frequently occurs in Anglo-Saxon poetry as a peculiar appelative of kings—nay, even as a name of God Himself" (p. 363). The names of other days, months, or festivals, may be traced in connection with the old religion of our forefathers, all telling of divine protection, or daily blessings, or great deeds, and showing an earnest desire to know and obey God—very imperfectly, and often falsely revealed.

Condition. We will take a peep at some of the domestic and social habits prevailing in later Saxon times. An acre of land was sold at the price of four sheep. Sheep were sold at four shillings. The flesh was of less value than the wool. Pigs were largely kept, and were fed on acorns in the woods. Horses were not used in agriculture. Barley meal was the usual food, and, among the poor, rye, oatmeal cakes, and beans. There was no sugar, honey being used for like purposes. Honey was also used for making an intoxicating drink. Ale was freely used, and drunkenness was frequent. The flour for their bread, which was in the form of flat cakes, was ground in a hand mill, or in a stone quern, by the poorest of the women—often slaves. Bread made from wheat flour was reserved for feast days. Fish was much used, and eels were plentiful, and swine's flesh was much resorted to in winter.

The condition of the poor was hard. A ploughman had to plough a full acre, which with oxen who travelled slowly would require him to be out at daybreak, and work till late,

with a very poor tool of a plough. The boy driving must go with his ox whether cold or wet. The shepherd had to guard his flock against wolves. The oxherd had to be on guard in the night against thieves. They, however, knew their position, and however hard, they bore it and did their duty.

"Under the Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "the commonalty left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons into foreign persons; although it be an innate quality of this people to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth." This practice was finally put down by Henry I. in 1102, who ordained that there should be no more buying or selling of men used in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been kine or oxen.

CHAPTER VII.

A ROYAL VILLAGE

By an exercise of the imagination let us transfer ourselves back to about the year 650, say 1250 years ago, or rather more. Penda is King of Mercia, and his palace is at what is now called Repton, but was then known as Hreopandune, the first part of the word perhaps signifying the name of the leader who took his men up the Trent, and "dun" the hill on which he and they settled. If we are to go to the then Metropolis, or Royal Burg, we have not far to go, for Repton is as the crow flies not twenty miles from where Nottingham now stands, but at the time we are to imagine ourselves as living, there are either no roads, or very bad ones, and we must go a long way to the west, perhaps by Derby; or to the left, perhaps by Loughborough, for the rivers are strong, and there are no bridges, and the marshes are very large and bad for travelling either on foot or horseback, and the woods are extensive and thick, so we had better go by boat, as the people then at Repton did. The Trent, however, then flowed by Repton, not where it now is, for the river under the King's Palace is called the Old Trent, and is merely a backwater and disused channel. The modern Trent is nearly a mile more to the south. We had better

believe the story told us, that by a charter or will all the land in the locality north of the Trent was given to somebody, who thought that by diverting the Trent he could get more land, and so he took advantage of a weak bank, and diverted the stream ; but let us hope he never got the land.

Penda is King. He is very warlike, is called "the Lion of Mercia," and has for many years been carrying on a contest with the Kingdom of Northumbria, each of them claiming over-lordship over Middle England. The people living to the north, the south, and the east of Penda's Kingdom have, to some extent, accepted the Christian religion, but Penda will not do so, and so the people are praying to Woden and Thor, with a very confused notion of a heaven consisting of a feast after a battle. In the battles with the Kings of Northumbria, both Edwin, the great King, and his successor Oswald had fallen. Notwithstanding his wars, Penda had given his daughter to Alchfrid, son of King Oswy of Northumberland, and she had accepted her husband's faith and become a Christian. Penda had also a son and heir named Peada, who began to think he ought to have a wife, so paid a visit to his sister at the Northumbrian Court, and there very naturally fell in love with a daughter of King Oswy, and sought her hand in marriage. The reply of the King was a very proper one, for mixed marriages are often unhappy ones. He should have her, the King said, "if he would become a Christian, but the princess should never wed a pagan." When the heart of a young fellow beats in the right direction, his will and understanding often soon follow. Peada was willing to learn, and his sister's husband, Prince Alchfried, became the instructor. He was quick to learn, accepted the Christian faith, was baptised, and returned home (652) accompanied by missionaries or teachers from Lindisfarne, and one Diuma from far away Iona, preached the gospel to the heathen men gathered probably, under a great oak, or on the public mound or hill, and became first Bishop of Mercia. Although Penda would have nothing to say to the new teaching, he would not hinder his people ; for himself he hated and scorned those whom he saw not doing the works of the faith they had received. It would have been well if some who took upon themselves the name of Christ, had acted as tolerantly, and as sincerely, as this old heathen King. But Penda saw that as the Northumbrian missionaries advanced, the power or influence of their King advanced also ; so he determined to make another attack of

war, in which Penda was slain, and heathenism passed from our district for ever, Peada succeeding him as King. At Repton was the first Christian church in Mercia.

It should be noted that the boundaries between Northumbria and Mercia varied at different times; that the Trent is regarded by some writers as having been, at some period, the most natural and probable boundary; and that with Saxon kings the prominent feature had less regard to area than to tribes and peoples.

While we are at Repton we may as well add a few notes. A church was built there; also a monastery that was one of the best of its kind, that did its duty, and was ruled over by a lady of high rank, Eadburh, whose shrine was afterwards at Southwell. She was the daughter of the King of East Anglia, and was for a time the Abbess of Repton. For two hundred years that monastery did its useful work, and sent missionaries to preach throughout the diocese. In 874 the Danes ascended the Trent, went past Nottingham, and fell in fury and flames on both church and monastery, and the King fled.

Before leaving Repton we may notice that after the Danish troubles a church was built, the chancel of which is the crypt of the present church. A priory was erected in the twelfth century, and fared the fate of other monasteries in the days of Henry VIII., and when Mary came to the throne was pulled down by the owner, lest Popery should be re-established; but part of it remains to this day, and this with other buildings now, and for three hundred and fifty years past, has continued to be the seat of a school of great reputation, in which several hundred boys and young men are taught.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DANISH CONQUEST.

In 866 the Danes took up the work of invasion, and conquest, for the purpose of settling in the land. Northumbria submitted, but Mercia, whose King was Burhred, was saved by King Ethelred and his brother Alfred, who was then 19 years of age, and who made a hasty march on Nottingham, and in 868 made a treaty with the Danes called "the Peace of Nottingham." While the siege of Nottingham Castle was pro-

ceeding, Burhred granted a charter to Croyland, which the King says: "He made it at Snothyngham before his brothers, friends, and all his people, assembled to besiege the pagans." The Danes then went and conquered East Anglia with such force and fury that Mercia paid them tribute, and in 870 acknowledged them as overlords. Mercia was again invaded and subdued, for the Saxons had become plowmen, and every Dane was a well-drilled soldier and fierce fighter, thirsting for blood. When, however, they had conquered, they settled down, and soon came under the influence of Christian civilization.

Alfred. With Alfred the Great came the highest conception of a ruler for the ruled that we had been favoured with, for, in his own words, he strove to live worthily, and desired to leave to the men that should come after him, not monuments, but "a remembrance of him in good works." He created a fleet, organized military service, arranged courts of justice, promoted education, himself superintended a school he established for young nobles. In selecting a code of laws he said: "Those things which seemed to me to be rightest, those I have gathered, and rejected the others." "Alfred," says Green, "was pre-eminently a man of business, careful of detail, laborious and methodical. He carried in his bosom a little handbook, in which he jotted down things as they struck him." He had a genial good nature; loved singing, learnt good old songs by heart, and directed they should be taught in the Palace Schools. When in trouble he comforted himself with music and the Psalms, and he carefully attended to his religious duties.

Wapentake. In Alfred's day the people were classed into families of tens, over whom a man called the tytheignman was elected, and it was his duty to maintain peace, and to see that the laws for their association were duly observed. Ten of these tytheings formed a hundred, having a Hundred Court that governed the whole. There being no standing army, all youths over fourteen years were required by the courts to be brought to do suit and service, that is, to be sworn to uphold the laws, and to take share in the defence of the wapentake. To the head man of each district the elder men and followers came, and as he held up his spear they touched it, and this was regarded as a bond of their common united interest; thus from "wæpen" (weapon) and "tae" (touch) we derive the term "wapentake," and all persons had

to have some guarantee for their good conduct, without which their weapons were taken from them. When Domesday Book was compiled the account so far as Nottinghamshire was concerned was all taken in wapentakes.

The five boroughs of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, and Stamford, had in 880 been settled by Alfred with a number of Danes as subjected colonists, and these places were thence called the "Five Burghs," and joined themselves into a Midland Confederacy for rule and defence, which, however, was upset by Edmund in 941-2. How far this rule affected the people in the districts we have no means of knowing, but they were doubtless governed by the Dane-law, whose makers would of course assume the position of lordship over the occupiers, from among whom they would probably select recruits for their army. King Alfred had set over the five boroughs his son-in-law Ethelred, an active and courageous officer, but each of the towns had its own Earl. Sometimes York and Chester were added to the five boroughs, and so were called the "Seven Burghs" for political and common action. In 912 Ethelred died, and his wife, Ethelflaed, co-operated with Edward in subduing the forts of the five boroughs. In 917-8 she subdued Derby and Leicester, and dying, was succeeded by her brother Edward, who, having subdued Stamford, Nottingham submitted, and so we became attached to Wessex—that is, all the rest of the country to the south and west of us, but twenty years afterwards the five boroughs again rose in revolt, joining with Northumbria, but without avail, and so the fighting process continued, with alternating peace, during several generations.

Slavery continued, notwithstanding the efforts of the Church, and legal prohibitions. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, about 681-6, set free two hundred and fifty serfs whom he found attached to the estate connected with his See. Children were, however, sold to go over seas. The King became greater in the eyes of the people, and the people became more dependent upon the lord to whom they were required to render service. It became necessary for every man to attach himself to a lord as a means of securing protection, and this, while it secured a benefit, involved a sacrifice of personal freedom.

The Millenium. As we approached the year 1000 after Christ, there were great fears that the world would then come to an end. People would not build houses or churches, lest the labour should be thrown

away by a general destruction. What folly there is in these fearful forebodings! How much better for us to do our duty, and leave the future in the hands of an infinitely wise God, Who knows all and loves all! Instead of the end of the world, there was nearly an end of the people, for that weak, undecided, procrastinating King, Ethelred the Unready, was on the throne; the land was devastated by the Danes, who through Nottingham and other counties "made spoyle of all, so that the miserable English went to wracke on all sides."

Witena Gemots. A gemōt, or assembly, was held at Nottingham in 930—see chapter on "The City of Nottingham." From 979, when a gemōt was unfortunately held for the purpose of crowning Ethelred, many gemōts were held for the melancholy and shameful purpose of buying peace from the Danes, and in 1015 the gemot or witan consented again to receive Ethelred as King, upon promises of amendment. (Kemble, p. 258.) God pity the people who are afflicted with a cowardly ne'er-do-well as their monarch. These gemōts or witans seem to have had great power, extending even to the election or deposition of a king, the appointing of bishops, the making of new laws, treaties, new taxes, raising land and sea forces, making grants or forfeitures of land, and acting as a supreme court of justice in both civil and criminal cases. They met usually at Easter or Christmas. There were three gemōts held in 1065, the year before the Norman Conquest, at the last of which Westminster Abbey was dedicated by Edward, who died a few days afterwards, and the assembly elected poor Harold as King.

What the Engles and Saxons had failed to do for themselves—the subjection of all the peoples of England to one government and one law—the Danes accomplished by their terrible wars, in which there was no possibility of resistance, for fire, slaughter, and destruction went everywhere. Eadric, King of Mercia, was killed in cold blood, and an earl was appointed to rule over it. Several useful Danish Kings sat on the throne, and ruled well. The principal benefit that came was peace, after centuries of devastation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

That was an awful day—Saturday, the 14th of October, 1066—when King Harold, at Hastings, joined battle with William, Duke of Normandy, who had brought over 60,000 men. When standing on the terrace at Battle Abbey, the guide tells visitors as they overlook the country· "On that field, in eight hours, 25,000 men fell." And this was only the beginning of that terrible struggle for the crown, which was largely aided by bishops, and sanctioned by the Pope. Poor Harold! His body is said to have been found by the beautiful Edith Swanesbals (the Swan-necked Edith), whom he had loved before he was King, and where the body was found are the remains of the high altar of the Abbey that was afterwards built there, but which is now a great ruin.

Our Nottinghamshire men may have been present, for an old song says they were, but do not appear to have taken an active part, for Edwin, our Mercian Earl, was envious, and jealous of Harold's power, and betrayed his brother's interests by delay in rallying his forces. However that may be, we are told that "the invasion was fiercely opposed by the inhabitants of Nottingham; but after much bloodshed they were obliged reluctantly to capitulate." With the subjugation of North-West Mercia, William's conquest was complete.

The King came in 1068 and ordered Nottingham Castle to be rebuilt, and, "to bridle the English," committed the care of it to William de Peverel, who changed the name from Snodengaham into Nottingham. The record tells how that there were in the Borough in the time of King Edward, 173 burgesses, and 19 villeins. Hugh the Sheriff found 120 dwelling-houses and 136 men; "now there are 16 less" (1086), yet there were then 214 houses, probably many having been deserted. Whatever this means, it tells an awful tale of slaughter and sorrow.

The lands belonging to the owners previous to the Conquest were taken from them and given to those who had aided the Invasion, a few native holdings being confirmed, but of the rest their place knew them no more, and whether killed off, or what became of them, we know not. The

Governorship of Nottingham Castle, and of Sherwood Forest, together with one hundred and sixty-two manors, was given to William de Peverel. Roger de Busli became the greatest of our County landholders, for to him was given one hundred and seventy-four manors, "being the best part of ninety towns in the County," besides many elsewhere, so that, as Thoroton says, "he was made the greatest man of lands in the County by many degrees." *Magna Britannia* states that there were in the County one hundred and sixty-eight parishes, so we see the largeness of the gift. The Archbishop of York had thirty-six manors, and the Bishop of Lincoln twenty-eight; altogether twenty-nine men became owners, including William the Usher, etc. These were all sworn to do the King service, and they in their turn sub-let to locally resident owners and occupiers, sworn in like manner to service, so that the whole Kingdom was bound together as one man. This had its benefits, for it prevented little local conspiracies and jealousies making headway, but it had its drawbacks, for it formed a cord of bondage that grew in oppression until Magna Charta once more brought back some liberty.

Buildings. Now came the era of the building of our grand cathedrals, village churches, and monasteries, sometimes for the love of God, and sometimes to atone for wrongs done. William built a magnificent church at Caen, his head-quarters in Normandy, the first sight of which causes you to exclaim: "How much this resembles Southwell Cathedral!" He also built an abbey where the terrible battle had been fought, now called Battle Abbey. William de Peverel founded "The Honour of Peverel," a court which had extensive jurisdiction in one hundred and twenty-seven villages in Nottinghamshire, and one hundred and twenty in Derbyshire, with certain detached places in Yorkshire and Leicestershire, and which court continued to our own day. He also built and richly endowed Lenton Priory, which became the wealthiest institution in the County. Roger de Busli likewise formed "The Honour of Blyth," which afterwards became "The Honour of Tickhill," where he built his castle, and endowed the monastery at Blyth, a part of which may now be seen in the interesting Norman church there. These fine old English gentlemen, as they became, seemed to be very anxious that their souls should be prayed for after their departure. We now think that a better way would have been to have shown greater care how they lived, and then they

might safely have left the keeping of their souls to God. It is just, however, to say that they gave very largely of their substance when in the prime of life—gave of their best to God—and lived many years afterwards discharging the duties of their station.

Subjection. Our forefathers felt very keenly their being made subject to another race. The farmers had lost their lands; and families had lost their fathers, brothers, and sons. The service of those who were labourers—then called villeins—had become bitter; the value of property and things in general had decreased; and added to this, the laws were unequally administered. Thus, in Nottingham, if in a quarrel between two persons blood was shed, the officers decided who drew the blood, and if the mischief was done in the English borough, the offender had to pay the King 6s. 4d., but if in the French borough the fine was 18s. 0d.

The bitterness of feeling may be illustrated by the fact that Nottingham for the administration of justice had to be divided into two towns, the people living east of Bridlesmith Gate being the Anglo-Saxons, and having their Town Hall in Weekday Cross, while the west-enders were, of course, the Normans, with their Moot Hall the Chapel of St. James, for the Honour of Peverel; which, however, ceased after the White Friar movement, when Mr. J. H. Brown says it was held in the old building of the Byron family, on the site of the Old Moot Hall, and Friar Lane was formerly called Moot Hall Gate. In like manner the big market had to be divided by a wall running up the middle, with a view to prevent quarrels, and that wall stood there probably over six hundred years. The wall has gone, and the bitterness; but your intensely superior person still boasts of his family having come over with the Normans! We should all boast of Norman blood, were it not that our Saxon names present a difficulty, so we have to reconcile ourselves to singing—

> "Howe'er it be, it seems to me
> 'Tis only noble to be good;
> Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood."

Let it not be supposed that all the evil was on the one side. If you take a holiday trip to Normandy and Brittany, while your soul will be stirred up with indignation as you

stand in front of the monument at Avranches, and read the inscription that "on this spot Henry II., King of England, did humble penance," yet when you stand by the monument at Rouen, where our ancestors caused Joan of Arc to be burnt, or by the Anglaise fountain at Morlaix, erected after a slaughterous raid the English soldiers made on a peaceful town, or at the entrance to Brest harbour, which we invaded, and all our men were slaughtered, and so on, you will see that our forefathers were no better than they should have been, and you will come to the conclusion that all these old quarrels are better buried in forgetfulness, letting bygones be bygones: and going from place to place in Normandy and Brittany you will meet with the greatest civility and kindness; you will see the grandest of churches, built eight hundred years ago; you will be sorry to see that the people do not seem to be quite so well off as formerly, especially in Brittany; but as you set foot on the steamer re-crossing the Channel you will say, "Three cheers for *l'entente cordiale!*"—the cordial understanding with France—and three cheers for the King who promoted it.

Domesday Book. King William determined to have a reliable account of all the property and position of affairs in every district. He therefore sent commissioners into every county, whose duty it was to enquire by the oath of the chief men of the respective hundreds the description of all the manors, and the rights of all persons. In the book that was compiled from their returns we know as to every parish in Nottinghamshire the number of acres in each man's estate, the quantity of meadow pasture, woods, and arable lands they contained; what he was wont to pay in Saxon times, and how much of late he was taxed for. There was also recorded as to what villeins there were, and what serfs; if there was a church and a priest; what fisheries and mills there were, etc. This book took six years in compiling, and was called Domes-day, or Doomsday Book, possibly under the idea that at the Day of Judgment there will be found a record of all our lives, actions, and characters.

This book is of enormous value, for it gives us a peep into the past history of our villages that we could not otherwise have, and extracts from it you may make at a good reference library.

CHAPTER X.

OUR MEDIÆVAL VILLAGES.

We will in imagination walk into one of the villages of our County in the middle ages. In each of them there is a Lord of the Manor, or his deputy, who must render service when called upon to the King, and the tenants must render service to their landlord. His house—the Manor House—is the best in the village. May be it has a moat round it, to be flooded with water when required, for protection. Here local justice is administered. There are several somewhat inferior houses where the free tenants live; that is, those who have, as a fixed rental, a service to the lord, and may follow him to war. Huts, not houses, are considered good enough for the serfs and herds, who are bound to the land, and sold with it. The lord of the manor has the best arable land, and the water meadows. The arable land is cultivated in strips, as you may see to this day at Laxton, in a three years' system, resting fallow every third year, rendered necessary because of there being no dung, and very poor ploughing. The pasture land is common, that is, the people turn all their cattle on to it. They turn their pigs into the woods to feed. Many sheep are kept. There is great difficulty in keeping cattle through the winter, for there are no such things as turnips, or clover seeds, and very little hay, so many animals have to be killed off in November, and salted. Ploughing is very badly done, for the plough is unshapely, and goes only a small depth into the soil, the result being a crop of not more than a fourth of what a farmer gets in our day. The corn ears are cut off, and the straw left on the land, for there are not cattle in a crew yard to tread the straw to manure. The rent of land is sixpence per acre, except the lord's best meadows, which are said to fetch sixteen times as much as the other land when let. All the men in the parish work their land as a community. A villein holding, say, thirty acres, may have it in detached strips all over the parish. The system is bad, and wasteful, and leads to many occasions of dearth. Everybody occupies and cultivates some land. There are no traders in the villages. Wheat is sold at about six shillings per quarter, going down to half that sum in years of great plenty, and rising to nearly three times the price in years of famine.

Houses. The best houses were built of either stone or wood, the art of brick making having been lost, and glass was still too dear to use. The villeins' houses were only of mud or wattle, but generally thatched with reeds, and having mud floors. The rent paid by cottagers was one shilling to two shillings per year, the tenant doing repairs. Villages usually consisted of sixty to eighty inhabitants. Fires were of wood, not coal. There were no chimneys to the cottages. Candles were too costly for the poor.

It is said that villeins made up the great bulk of the population, and that free tenants were scarce, except in our Midland Counties, where the Danish settlements had invigorated the people. There were cottiers forming a lower class, who had no cattle.

Everybody's corn must be ground at the lord's mill, and the miller was thought to grow fat. The lord had a big dove-cot, in which a great number of wild pigeons were kept, and partly fed at other people's cost.

The Church. There was a church, and a priest holding services daily, or, in small villages, weekly or fortnightly. The priest was poor and kindly. He had little income, for the principal tithes went to the Archbishop of York, or to some monastery, or lay rector. The priests were allowed to marry in Saxon times, but not under Norman rule, for there prevailed the absurd idea that the holiness of the priest would be contaminated by his union with a wife, whereas the exact opposite takes place, for a good woman is nearer to God than any man, whatever his office may be, and the natural effect of prohibition often followed by a state of which the less said the better. There was a tithe barn, to which was brought the tithes of wool and corn for the owner of rectorial tithes, but the poor parson had to fetch his small tithes of chickens, pigs, geese, apples, honey, eggs, butter, and such like; a very disagreeable business. From 567 the clergy at the Synod of Tours for the first time positively called upon the faithful to pay tithes. (Kemble, p. 474.) In England, Ethelstan, in the first quarter of the tenth century, imposed tithes of the fruits of the earth and young cattle. Eadmund, in 940, again enjoined payment under excommunication; "and with respect to tithe, the King and his witan have chosen and decreed, as right it is that one third part of the tithe which belongs to the church, go to the reparation of the

church; and a second part to the servants of God there; and the third part to God's poor and needy men in thraldom." (Kemble, p. 548.) The church was larger than the population required, but in it were held the parish meetings, the mystery plays, and sometimes it was used for storing wool, or grain, the parson being paid a small fee for the use.

It will help us to realize the change between things as they then were, and now are, if we think over what there was not. There was no glass for the windows of ordinary houses, no fireplaces, no coal, no matches, no boarded floors, or carpets; no proper roads, few wheeled conveyances; no doctors or druggists, so if you were ill you had to be bled; no tea, coffee, or sugar; no bibles, or books, or newspapers; no schools, except at the monasteries; no police to protect; and no liberty, such as we now have.

The church floors were unpaved, and were covered with reeds or rushes, renewed several times a year, and therefore often charged with dirt and vermin. There were no pews, and for hundreds of years no seats whatever, and then a few bare and backless forms, used firstly for women, and then gradually introduced and improved.

Holidays. And yet these people were happy in their way. The Church provided many holidays. There were the Robin Hood Plays, the Maypole Dance, May Day and Plough Monday festivities, Church ales, village wakes, pilgrimages, and great fairs, such as Goose Fair, which continued nine days, in order to have plenty of pleasure after harvest. There was archery and wrestling, and Christmas merry-makings. According to a law passed in the reign of Edward IV., every village must have its butts for the practice of archery, and every man must have his bow.

Worship. The mass was the principal service of the day, and was observed daily, where practicable. "It was," says Abbot Gasquet, "as the highest prayer that Holy Church can devise for the salvation of the quick and the dead, in which the priest offereth up the highest Sacrifice, and the best Offering, that any heart can devise—that is, Christ, God's Son in Heaven, under the form of bread and wine." He says: "In one place in the County of Nottingham the Chantry suppressed is declared to have been founded for a priest to say mass every morning before sonne rysing, for such as be

travellers by the way; and to maintain God's service then; which town is also a thoroughfare towne." He mentions other places where what was called "the Morrow Mass" was observed at five, or six, or eight o'clock in the morning, and "was fairly attended by those whose duties permitted them to be present." "At Newark, the Chantry priest of St. Mary Magdalene's had to say mass for the people at four o'clock in the morning."

The services in the Church were very similar to those now used in Roman Catholic churches, and much of the form was retained in our English Prayer Book. Mr. J. Ward, several years ago, obtained a copy of a "York Gradual," that is, the choral part of the service set to music. This was probably composed by some pious monk five hundred years ago, and was written for use in an ordinary parish church. This copy was used in the church at "Estdrayton"—East Drayton, near Tuxford. It has the several parts to be found in the Prayer Book, such as *The Creed*, "I believe in one God"; *The Kyrie*, "Christ have mercy"; *The Agnes Dei*, "Lamb of God, who takest away the sin of the world"; *The Gloria in Excelsis*, "Glory be to God on high"; and other portions, as may be seen in the Catholic Prayer Book, called "The Garden of the Soul." The book is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and Mr. Ward has published a full description of it.

To what extent preaching was carried out we have little information. It does not appear to have been a regular part of Sunday's observance as now. In 1281, Archbishop Peckham issued an Order as follows: "We order that every priest having the charge of a flock do, four times in each year (that is, once each quarter), on one or more solemn feast days, either himself or by someone else, instruct the people in the vulgar language, simply, and without any fantastical admixture of subtle distinctions, in the Articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins with their offshoots, the Seven Principal Virtues, and the Seven Sacraments."

In 1357, Archbishop Thoresby, of York, sent to all his clergy (which would include those in our County), instructions for all priests who had under them the charge of souls, to openly, in English, upon Sundays, teach and preach to them, that they have cure of the law, and the way to know God Almighty, and they were to rehearse all these things until they knew them, and to teach them to their children.

If there were no fast days during the week, the priest would say: "Masters and frendes, as for holy days and fasting days, ye shall have none thys weeke, but ye maye doe all manner of good workes, that shall bee to the honoure of God and the profyt of your own soules." Then followed exhortations to prayers for the Pope and priests; for the King, Queen, Royal Family, the lords and benefactors; for all who were in trouble; and for the souls of their relatives and others who were in the pains of purgatory. (Abbot Gasquet in *Mediæval Parish Life*, a book replete with information.)

The announcements made in church were interesting: such as that someone was collecting money for the building of a bridge; or someone had had his barns burned, and wanted help; or that "So-and-So" had died, and who were his executors, to whom claims might be sent; or that a false report had been spread with regard to the character of a person named; or that a person named had done a public wrong, which was described; penances for wrongs done were announced, and the penances publicly performed, as may be seen by reference to the Elizabethan Visitation.

Children. A quotation from *The Young Children's Book*, dated about A.D.1500, quoted by Abbot Gasquet, is interesting—

> "Aryse be tyme out of thi bedde,
> And blysse thi brest and thi forhede,
> Then wasche thi handes and thi face,
> Keme thi hede, and aske God grace
> The to helpe in all thi werkes;
> Thou schall spede better what so thou confes,
> Then go to ye chyrche, and hear a masse."

Children were taught rhymes like this—

> "He that without Grace sitteth down to eate,
> Forgetting to give God thanks for his meate,
> And riseth again, letting Grace overpasse,
> Sittes down like an ox and riseth like an asse."

Angelus Bell. In many of the churches in our County a bell is rung every morning or evening, and we have forgotten the reason for it. "The Angelus bell probably grew out of the curfew," says Abbot Gasquet, "which originally was a civil notification of the time to extinguish all lights, but in the thirteenth century it was turned into a

universal religious ceremony in honour of our Lord's Incarnation, and of His Blessed Mother."

"In accordance with a practice of the Early Church, at morning and evening, the Angelus bell, as it was called, pealed forth from every steeple and bell turret in the kingdom, and as the sound floated through the surrounding neighbourhood, the monk in his cell, the baron in his hall, the village maiden in her cottage, the labourer in the field, reverently knelt and recited the allotted prayer in remembrance of Christ's Incarnation for us."

In our villages and towns, before the Reformation, every requirement connected with the parish church was the concern of the entire parish. If the building required repair, or the priest required new vestments, or the church required additional furniture, or vessels were required for the sacraments, the people joined together, and either by individual contribution, or by a voluntary rate, or by some form of special effort, they raised the money, for the building was the property of the parish, and so were its furniture and fittings, all, of course, dedicated to sacred uses.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INFLUENCE OF PALESTINE.

The Christ.

It is strange that we should take our religion from Palestine. Our island is not large, but we are a mighty people, spreading over the earth, and largely dominating it; yet we take our religion from a small area of the earth, of no great importance, either in the present, or the past, and the hills and valleys of that land exercise a mighty influence upon us. A Nottingham man will sing—

"Jerusalem, my happy home,
Name ever dear to me"

and be comforted and strengthened by the thought. A Trent Valley woman will sing of "Jordan's banks," or "The other side of Jordan," and the mere thought will give her inspiration. You cannot say this of any other city or river. London and the Thames; Rome and the Tiber; Paris and the Seine;—carry no message to the soul. It is the spiritual associations

that makes the charm, and because these have become types of the passage to our eternal home. In that country the men lived that were nearer to God than we are, and were used by God to carry and unfold great truths to men; truths of life and death; of destiny and hope; of the sinfulness of sin, and the provision for pardon, cleansing, power, and son-ship with God. There the Psalms were written, supplying the highest attainment of spiritual worship and joy. There were given laws from heaven for life on earth, but, chiefly, there came and lived and died the God man—God manifest in the flesh, not only our great example, but the ground of our hope, the object of our worship.

St. Helen. There are, or were, in our County, fifteen churches and chapels dedicated to St. Helen. As to whom she was, a paragraph from my little paper, *Notes on the History of Stapleford*, will show: "It is nearly 1,600 years since Helena died, and fact and fiction are so closely interwoven with regard to her and her son that it is impossible to separate them. So I cannot tell you whether she was the beautiful Helen of York, or of Deira, or the daughter of an innkeeper in Bithynia, or the daughter of King Coilus of Colchester, the original of 'Old King Cole, a merry old soul,' a lady of unrivalled beauty, but there is little doubt that when she was married her husband was an officer in the Roman army, that she had to bear a great wrong, and that when her son Constantine became Emperor, he, like a good son, did full justice to his mother, who was raised to Imperial dignity, and made Empress. She was distinguished for her virtues of piety and alms-deeds. She went in and out among the common people relieving distress, was a great help to her son, and when eighty years of age went on his behalf to Jerusalem to superintend the erection of a church on Mount Calvary, and there is said to have discovered the true Cross. In the National Gallery, in London, there is a fine painting by Paolo Veronese of the Vision of St. Helena, in which she appears as a beautiful young woman wrapped in repose, but not of sleep, with two beautiful child-angels above bearing the Cross. That vision of the Cross changed her life. The Nottingham city arms are thought to be based on the legend."

City Arms. It is singular that the arms of the Borough of Colchester, in Essex, are very much like those of Nottingham. In a pamphlet, *Ancient Legends connected with the Arms of Colchester*, by W. Gurney Benham, it

is stated that in a Charter of Henry IV. given to Colchester, dated 1412, upon a scroll surrounding the figure of Helena are the words: "Saint Helena was born in Colchester. She was the mother of Constantine. Helena discovered the Holy Cross." According to the Colchester chronicles Helena was born in Colchester in the year 242; was the daughter of Coel, King of Colchester; was married in 264 to Constantius, Roman general, and afterwards Roman Emperor; and she gave birth to Constantine the Great, at Colchester, in the year 265. We must leave York to settle the claim with Colchester as to the place of birth, but Mr. Benham adds: "There are two ancient traditions which connect Nottingham with Coel and Helena. One of these, mentioned by Deering in his *History of Nottingham*, states that the British King Coilus was buried at Nottingham." The other tradition refers to a possibly fabulous King Lucius, who is said to have caused four towns—Nottingham, Hereford, Salisbury, and Huntingdon—to be formed. Both traditions are very doubtful.

Legend credits St. Helena with being the discoverer of the true Cross, and also the bodies of the "Three Kings" (the Magi); and Mr. Benham concludes "that the arms of Colchester, as of Nottingham, were meant to tell the story of St. Helena; that the cross alludes to the discovery of the Holy Rood; that the crowns symbolise the Magi." For the old prophecy had said: "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising."

Mr. G. Fellows has an interesting paper on *The Arms, Crest, and Motto of the City of Nottingham*, published in the *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* for 1905.

Mr. Fellows finds no reference to the Arms of Nottingham before 1614, but it is probable there were arms used earlier, for an Act of Richard III. (1483) ordered that seals should be provided for "every city, borough or town within the realm of England where the cloth is made." The motto *Vivit Post Funera Virtus*—"Virtue lives after Death"—appears, according to the researches of Mr. W. H. Stevenson and Mr. F. W. Dobson, to be an unauthorised addition, made in 1720.

The Crusaders. Peter the Hermit, about the end of the eleventh century, went throughout Europe from city to city proclaiming one message: "The tomb of the Lord is in the hands of the Infidel! Go!"

And he produced the most extraordinary enthusiasm by his impassioned descriptions of pilgrims murdered, or robbed, or injured, and of sacred shrines desecrated; for our ancestors had the idea that it was not only a meritorious act to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but when the Holy Land was conquered by the Saracens, it became, in their view, a bounden duty to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Turks, lest they should destroy every vestige of Christianity in the land. So about 1096, vast hordes of people from all parts of Europe, including the British Isles, went to the Holy Land, but largely perished for want of order, discipline, and provisions. Afterwards many of the gentry went, including representatives of our County families. There were seven Crusades, in addition to others on a lesser scale, during several generations following, until about 1290-91, when the knights left the Holy Land in the undisturbed possession of the Saracens. In 1288, Pope Nicholas IV. granted the Tenths of Lambley to Edward I. for six years toward the cost of a Crusade to the Holy Land.

Our old public-house signs, "The Saracen's Head," shew the interest locally felt, the Saracens being the Mohammedans of Syria and Palestine, and Arabs generally. "The Three Crowns" is another sign of interest. "The Salutation Inn" may refer to a greeting of friends, or to the Salutation of the Angel and the Virgin Mary.

Richard the First, surnamed Cœur de Lion—the Lion-hearted King—went on a Crusade, which left England four years without a ruler, for he had a series of misfortunes, but he made a truce with Saladin, and returned in 1193, to find that his brother John had betrayed his trust, and rebelled. Richard, having obtained great credit for his bravery, was re-crowned at Winchester with great honour and joy. He had been first crowned in London, but the day of his coronation was the occasion of an awful slaughter and wholesale robbery of the Jews in London, followed by the like wrong at York, and in all the principal towns of England. In 1194, the sieges of Tickhill and Nottingham Castles—which held out for John—took place, Richard personally conducting that of Nottingham.

Among our County knights who went was one of the Lords of Worksop (called in Domesday Book "Werchesope," and afterwards "Worsoppe"). There was, at the time of the

Crusades, a Gerard de Furnivall, a Norman knight, whose father was with Richard I. at the Siege of Acre.

Worksop Priory was founded by Wm. de Lovetot, and dedicated to St. Cuthbert, who was the sixth Bishop of Durham, and died at a great age in 686. The second Wm. de Lovetot, dying early, left a daughter seven years of age, who was afterwards given in marriage by Richard I. to Gerard, the son of Gerard de Furnivall, but when John came to the throne, he demanded four hundred marks for acquiescing in the marriage.

The first de Furnivall benefaction to the Worksop Priory consisted of Gerard's grant of pasturage for forty cows in Worksop Park, from Easter to Michaelmas, for the benefit of his mother's soul. After the death of John, Gerard went to Palestine, where he died, 1219, and his son, Thomas, was slain in Palestine, and was there buried; but his younger brother, Gerard, on arriving at home, his mother pleaded with him so earnestly, that he went back and brought his brother's remains, which were interred in Worksop Church.

Now, boys, do not be thinking of the unwisdom of the young man in going to Palestine, being killed there; nor of the mother's yearning desire to have her son's remains removed from Palestine to Worksop—a sentiment the force of which you never can feel until you are placed in like circumstances—but rather think of the splendid devotion of Gerard to his mother, that, in order to gratify her wish, he would bear all the labour, cost, risk, and danger of going, and carrying back the body—a fine example of manly obedience, if in any way he could make that sad mother happy.

The Knights Templars were an order or brotherhood of soldiers, formed for the protection of the Holy Sepulchre, and pilgrims going there. They had lands in several parishes in the County.

The Palmers. The Palmers were wandering religious votaries, who bore branches of the palm as tokens that they had visited the Holy Land and its sacred places, and about 1174, there was given by Henry II. a Royal confirmation of a grant to the Palmers of Nottingham of three and a half acres of land, which Robert de Saint Remy had given them to establish a hospital for entertaining poor

men for the soul of Richard de Saint Remy, his brother, whom Mr. A. Stapleton, in an article on "Nottingham's first Home of Rest," supposes to have fallen in the Holy War; hence the pious act of the brother in perpetuating his departed brother's memory. The land was at the junction of Glasshouse Street and St. John's Street, Nottingham, on which was erected a chapel and other buildings, having a garden and orchard. This Hospital of St. John continued for nearly two hundred years, and received endowments; for Hugh de Neville gave the brethren the right to collect two loads of fire-wood weekly in Arnold Wood; lands were given at Stanton-on-the-Wolds, and at Nottingham, with a windmill in the fields, and lands at Kirkby-in-Ashfield. But evil days set in, and the glory of the hospital passed away. Many centuries afterwards that site became a Workhouse, and ended with being a House of Correction. The palm and its influence had gone, and coercion and punishment took the place of the ministry of mercy.

Future Good. "The old order changeth, and yieldeth place to new," but the great facts connected with the influence of Palestine form the basis for the hope of the world. That hope rests not in the grandeur of church buildings, nor the exaltation of ecclesiastics, but in the individual recognition of the glory of the Immanuel—God with us. The glory of God is His goodness. That goodness was manifested in the gift of the Christ, who was full of grace and truth, and who now, coming into the soul of a man, brings life, power, purity, peace. What the individual now has, the community shall enjoy. The Tabernacle of God shall be with men. The Holy City, the New Jerusalem, shall come down out of heaven. The power to elevate and purify our hearts, our cities, our villages, must come from above; it will not be evolved from man's schemes, but it may be aided. The Christ who came in humiliation now purifies; the Christ who will come in glory will make all things new. Truth must prevail.

> "For right is right, since God is God,
> And right the day must win.
> To doubt would be disloyalty;
> To falter would be sin." *F. W. Faber.*

The hope of the individual is for a heaven above, but the hope for the mass of men here is for heaven—its Presence, its order, its right-doing, its usefulness, its purity, its joy, to come

down into Nottinghamshire and elsewhere, and that consummation devoutly to be wished, each of us may advance, for God works through men.

"And the day shall yet appear
When the might, with the right, and the truth shall be;
And come what there may to stand in the way,
That day the world shall see."

CHAPTER XII.

OUR ANCIENT EARTHWORKS.

As a County we are not rich in the remains of the works of the peoples in far-off times. We have not the *menhirs*, or single tall stones, that may be seen in Wales, Cornwall, or Brittany at Carnac, and elsewhere. Nor have we the monuments, the limestones, the cromlechs, the dolmens, of Stonehenge, or Avebury, or elsewhere. We know little locally of the work of the Druids, or their so-called altars. We have remarkable stones at Stapleford, Blidworth, etc., but they are not the work of man, and we have many earthworks and camps on our hills which have survived the work of destruction, and tell of the rude provision of distant ages, to which the people could retire with their women, children, and flocks, when threatened by attacking foes; and these seem to be in such a line, that when the scouts blew their horns, or gave other signal of the approach of an invading force, the people would flee to the best fortress they had near.

Tigguocobauc. When what we now call Nottingham was first formed, with the queer name of Tigguocobauc, there would be the hills with the modern names of 1, The Castle; 2, St. Mary; 3, Radford and the Forest; 4, St. Ann; 5, Mapperley; 6, Sneinton; 7, Colwick Wood; but they are all like toes of one range. The first would be too limited to continue for the requirements of a large company, and so would necessitate the guarding of the second. The Castle Rock was no doubt the site of earthworks long before there was a tower, afterwards followed by a Castle; and in a part of the grounds of the Castle where King Charles planted

his Standard, now forming the lawn of the General Hospital, there was a mound; and separating that hill from the town there was cut a very deep valley, called up to a few years ago "The Hollows," but all that was modern work.

"St. Mary's Hill," that is the hill on which St. Mary's Church stands, was a guarded enclosure, with a tall cliff on the south, approached by a winding roadway cut in the south-east angle by Malin Hill, and for foot passengers by "Short Stairs" to probably an ancient fort, standing at the south-east angle; a roadway having afterwards been cut through the rock, and not inaptly called "Hollow Stone." There was a like narrow passage through the sand-hills at the top of Derby Road. The west of the St. Mary's Hill was guarded by a deep ditch running parallel to Bridlesmith Gate, and about forty yards to the east of it I remember, when King John's Chambers was built, seeing this ditch where it had been cut through the rock and was filled with black, damp soil, in which were sundry "finds." This ditch turned about where Victoria Street now stands, and on the north side of Warser Gate and Woolpack Lane, by the "Old Leather Bottle" Inn, to the west of Carter Gate, and round by the cliff to the north of Fisher Gate, and on to the Hollow Stone. A careful observer may trace marks in back yards at several points on the route.

County Fortresses. We are much indebted to Mr. Wm. Stevenson for his efforts as shown in his books, in newspaper articles, and in the *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, to interpret the proceedings of the past. In an article in *The Victoria History of the County of Nottingham*, he refers to Promontory Fortresses at the Castle Hill, Worksop, and the Combs Farm Camp, Farnsfield; to Hill Fortresses at Blidworth Camp; the Castle Hill at Retford; the Hill Close Camp at Farnsfield; the Beacon Hill Camp at Gringley-on-the-Hill; the Castle Hill at Grove; the Whinney Hill Camp at Mansfield Woodhouse; the Oldox (probably Old Works) at Oxton; The Castle Hill at Thurgarton, etc. As to Rectangular Camps, he refers to Cockpit Hill, at Arnold; to Castle Hill, Car Colston; to the Camp at Kingshaugh, in the parish of Darlton; to Solly Hill at Epperstone; to a Square Camp at Harworth (which was a Roman station); to the Scone Hill at Newark (which is the largest earthworks of the Civil War in the County); to the Castle Hill Camp at Kirkby-

in-Ashfield; to traces of a Roman Fosse at Littleborough; a strong Military Post in the Trent Valley at Newark; the Camp at Lonely Grange at Oxton; the Jordan Castle at Wellow; to Castle Mounds at Bothamsall, Lambley, Lowdham, Annesley, Aslockton, and Laxton, and says there are Homestead Moats in considerable numbers throughout the length and breadth of the County. He instances a Manorial Stronghold at Greasley Castle, and many unclassified earthworks in various parts of the County, as well as Barrows and Tumuli. Persons who desire information on the foregoing subjects are referred to that article.

Risk. What a state of danger our forefathers must have lived in, when they had to surround their dwellings with water moats; to guard their villages with mounds; to make cliffs or precipices in the rocks, or take advantage of natural precipices for guarding their towns; to make ditches in the solid rock, where the ground was flat; to make forts on hill tops; to protect themselves by walls, ramparts, fosses; to build towers, castles with drawbridges, and in many other ways to guard themselves against surprise or attack. All these would require, not only construction and repair, but implements, tools, and ammunition of some sort, with the sacrifice of time, and it may be, often of life, or limb, and property. The rude earthworks were in process of time followed by strong castles, and these have passed away. The bows and arrows have given place to fire-arms, and mighty guns with cannon-balls, with gun-powder and other explosives, and now we have gone back into the open field for attack and defence; and archery, which everbody in the olden time had to practice, has become merely a means of exercise and recreation.

West Bridgford. In Saxon times the "famous Lady of Mercia built a fortification at West Bridgford to repress the violence of the Danes, who possessed Nottingham, and to obstruct their passage over the noble bridge which here crosses the Trent." So says the record; but another record tells of an order given by King Edward when he visited the town in 924 for "a burh to be built on the south side of the river, over against the other, and the bridge over the Trent, between the two burhs." Was this order obeyed? And what and where were these burhs built?

Trent Bridge. Dr. Thoroton, referring to this bridge, mentions it by the name of "Heathbethe-brigg," which in Saxon meant "heath"—high, and "beth"—a bath, or washing place; and a chapel stood on or near it; and "this chapel might possibly have given (to a spot of ground which is the farthest boundary to the east, beyond the Trent, of the County of the Town of Nottingham) the name of the Lady-bay." This is slightly confused, but it gives occasion to me to call attention to the name that Lady-bay estate used to have, namely, the "Barrow Hill Farm"—afterwards corrupted to "Burrow Hill." The ground of a part of that estate is so raised above the level of the ground around, as to suggest that there may possibly have been earthworks there. Mr. W. Stevenson, in *Bygone Nottinghamshire*, suggests Wilford Hill "as the site of the burh on the south side of the Trent, constructed by Edward the Elder in 924, to guard the crossing of the Trent on the south bank." Blackner refers to "the military works on the Rye-hills, or Royals, as the high part of the Meadows is called, which were visible a few years ago, no doubt were the remains of the trenches cut by the Colonel (Hutchinson) to secure his men from the enemy's fire while he was making his approaches to the fort." These Rye-hills I remember more than fifty-five years ago as raised ground, on or near which were gardens, and the ground stood some feet higher than the adjoining land, the crocuses then growing in the grass everywhere about; but all trace of this is gone, and only a name—Rye Hill Terrace—survives.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROBIN HOOD.

Robin Hood, or Robert Hode, or Robert o' th' Wood, or Robert Fitzooth, is said to have been born about 1160, and to have died about 1247. The place of his birth is stated as Locksley, in the County of Nottingham (?); but more likely at Loxley Chace, near Sheffield, there being no parish of that name in our County. Whether a yeoman, or of noble blood, is doubtful; probably the former.

"Lithe and lysten gentylmen,
That be of frebore blode;
I shall tell you of a good yeoman,
His name was Robin Hode."

He is supposed to have been outlawed, being dispossessed, with others, of their estates or holdings, and so to have taken to living in the forests by the chase. His companions were Little John; William Scadlock, or Scathelock, or Scarlet; George a Green; Much a Miller's Son; Will Stretley, or Stoutly; Allin o' the Dale; Friar Tuck; the Maid Marian, etc. They were splendid archers, as both Robin and Little John had the reputation of shooting an arrow a measured mile, or 1,760 yards; and to please the Abbot of Whitby, with whom they went to dine, they are said to have shot from the top of the Abbey to a field a mile off, where a pillar was put up in memory of the shot, and the field called "Robin Hood's Field." He was clad in Lincoln green, for "Lincolne antiently dyed the best green in England." He is supposed to have died at Kirklees Abbey, near Pontefract, where, being taken ill, he desired to be bled, the prioress of the Abbey having the reputation of being skilful in physic and surgery; but she, perceiving he was Robin Hood, and knowing how he had been an enemy to persons called "religious"—that is, clericals or monks—she took revenge of him by letting him bleed to death. He was interred under some trees at a short distance from the house.

"Many talk of Robin Hood that never shot in his bow" is one of our old Nottinghamshire proverbs, to rebuke those who prate about matters of which they have had no experience. Among the poems or rhymes of Robin Hood are *A lytell geste of Robyn Hode; Robin Hode and the Porter; Robin Hood and the Beggar; Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne; A true tale of Robin Hood;* and many others. Those who desire may see *Robin Hood: a collection of all the ancient poems, songs, and ballads now extant, relative to that celebrated English outlaw; to which are prefaced Historical Anecdotes of his life,*" by Joseph Ritson, Esqre., in two volumes, 1834.

Of all the Nottinghamshire celebrities, none at all approach to the popularity of Robin Hood. Perhaps there never was a character so largely appreciated, so much celebrated in song, so often represented in plays, and the recital of whose doings gave so much pleasure to persons of all ages and classes, as

Robin Hood. Nor is there one where it is more difficult to get at the facts, and to form a true judgment, than with regard to this man. Some writers make him out as a common thief, while others contend that there never was such a man, that all the sayings and doings are simply the growth of popular sentiment. Yet to deny that there was such a man and character is to do violence to all tradition, and it is much easier to believe that a great deal of what has been written is exaggerated by re-telling, than to believe that the whole is baseless as a vision. This is the view of that devoted Sherwood Forester, Spencer T. Hall, who, in his *Forester's Offering*, has a very sensible article on the life of Robin Hood, and this is quoted at considerable length by Mr. Cornelius Brown, in his excellent book, *The Worthies of Nottinghamshire.*

Bold Robin Hood is, of all the characters our County has produced, the best known. The reasons for this are not far to seek. From Nottingham Forest in the south, to Robin Hood's Bay, near Whitby, in the north, was very largely forest, where the wild deer and other animals roamed. There were no roads. The forest laws were harsh and oppressive, so that if a man killed a deer he might almost as well have killed a man. While the people were very poor, the bishops were very rich, fond of display, and show of their power and wealth. Now there appears on the scene one, it may be, of aristocratic descent, and possibly, as has been suggested, leader of a band of a hundred men, who stood out against Norman robbery, rule, and oppression. And this man was bold and brave; skilful in archery, with a dignified bearing, yet merry; compassionate to widows and the poor; religious in his way, and respectful to all women; he took from the rich, and gave to the poor, and he baffled all the designs of the Sheriff of Nottingham, whom many persons hated; and along with this was a free, roving life on forest, hill, and dale, and you have at once room for admiration and imagination, and round him and his merry men there will be cast a halo of glory, for he will be credited with things that he might have done, or that other men did, and by this means you get a character and scenes that for six hundred years have given pleasure to thousands. Who has not laughed at the perplexity of the Sheriff, who wanted to arrest him? He went disguised to the Sheriff's house, and then accompanied him to help to find Robin Hood, only to discover that he—the Sheriff—was practically a prisoner in the hands of Robin Hood. Caves, hills,

mounds, trees, and springs are linked with his name and doings. The first recorded mention of his name yet discovered is said to be about 1377, and one hundred years afterwards there were Robin Hood plays performed in the May games, and these were very popular during the sixteenth century. Forty ballads tell the tale of the doings of Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, and Maid Marian.

"Little John" is an illustration of the humour that was shown by our ancestors in the choice of names, and especially of nicknames, for John the Nailer, as he would more properly be called, was a huge man. Spencer Hall, in a chapter on Hathersage, gives a view of the cottage where tradition says that he died. It was one of those low, stone, thatched buildings, standing on a knoll, with the small bedroom window near to the eaves, said to have originally been a house of one room only. Brought up to the business of nail-making till his wonderful strength and prowess determined him on going out an adventurer into the world, little is known of his career up to the Battle of Evesham, which took place in August, 1265, at which time he was found allied with the rebels under Simon de Montford, Earl of Leicester, on whose defeat he was outlawed, with Robin Hood* and others, who had joined the same party from the neighbourhood of Hallamshire. "Between these two distinguished heroes an immediate friendship had sprung up, strengthened, no doubt, by the adverse circumstances in which they found themselves; and as the most eligible resort they sought, with many others of their defeated companions, an asylum in their native hills and fastnesses. From that time the destiny of one was the destiny of both—they shared each others toils, dangers, and successes, and by their indomitable love of freedom, courage, and good policy, maintained an authority, and acquired a name, which even time itself has failed to weaken. They were, indeed, masters, in the virtual sense of the word, of all the country between the Trent and the Calder." Tradition says that Little John was buried in Hathersage Churchyard, and that when his grave was opened, the thigh bone "was found to be thirty-two inches in length, and though decayed a little at the ends, it was thick throughout in proportion to that length."

* It will be observed there is a discrepancy in the dates.

CHAPTER XIV.

"MAGNA CHARTA," 15TH JUNE, 1215.

King John, 1199-1216.

"Who have been our worst Kings?" asked a teacher of his class, receiving various answers, the which, and the reasons therefor, we need not refer to. "Ethelred," "Henry VIII.," "Charles I.," "Charles II.," "George IV.," were among the answers received, but three-fourths of the class answered, "John." Now it, unfortunately for Nottingham folks, happened that John was intimately connected with the Town and County. He frequently lived in Nottingham Castle, and in the Castle Museum are the doors of premises for some reason called "King John's Palace," in or near to Bottle Lane. He had a palace at Clipstone, the remains of which you may see to-day. He had a hunting lodge at Kinghaugh—or King's House—an ancient moated building in the parish of Darlton, and it is said that he converted the king's hay or wood into a park, "and made war in this place" against his brother Richard. He, moreover, died in Newark Castle. We are, therefore, concerned with his reputation. "Why is he so hated?" We have not far to go to ascertain, for while he had great ability and energy, he was quick-tempered, revengeful, violent, deceitful, unchaste, and without conscience. He and his brother Richard rebelled against their father, and broke his heart. He conspired against his brother, who was King, and was abroad, so that on the King's return, Nottingham Castle, and Tickhill Castle, by the northern border of our County, had to be subjugated by force. He lost possession of Normandy, after it had been joined to England for one hundred and forty years; this, bye-the-bye, was a good thing for us, for we should have been in constant contention with France. He murdered his brother Arthur; divorced his wife Hawisa without cause; carried off by violence Isabella, and married her; seized the nobles' castles, and assembled their owners and plundered them; outlawed the bishops, and confiscated Church property.

Then came that awful exercise of spiritual power by the Pope that makes Englishmen thank God that we are now free from the control of Rome. Pope Innocent laid an interdict on the kingdom; he closed the churches, suspending divine

service. People could not marry; the dead could not be buried in consecrated ground; and for five years this mischief and misery continued. The Pope deposed John, which he had no right to do; John at length became frightened, and not only submitted, but acknowledged himself as a vassal of the Pope, gave the Crown into the hands of the Pope's envoy, and received it back as a gift. One's blood boils as we read of the transaction, and we scarcely know who is the most to be condemned.

But of all the hateful acts done by him, no one gives a greater shock than the murder, in Nottingham Castle, of a number of Welsh boys (Deering says twenty-eight) who were held as hostages. He was hunting at Clipstone, when news was brought to him of a revolt in Wales, and a conspiracy in the North; whereupon he assembled, under the "Parliament Oak," the nobles who were hunting with him, and demanded their consent to the execution of the boys, which was wickedly given. He thereupon rode off to Nottingham Castle, where he found the boys playing. He had them seized, bound, and amid the most heart-rending cries, carried to the ramparts, and there hanged in a row, while he returned to Clipstone to dine!

Yet, strangely enough, this is the man who, under constraint from the barons, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, signed the "Magna Charta," that largely helped to secure our national liberties for three hundred years. That Charter limited the power of the King with regard to the Church; it defined his rights as to owners of property; it for the first time made the consent of the Great Council necessary for the levying of taxation; it ensured personal liberty, and regulated the administration of justice; it dismissed foreign troops and officials; it secured to all towns their liberties and free customs, and redressed many grievances. That Charter was published and sworn to at every hundred mote, and town mote, in this country, and, of course, in our County. John afterwards repudiated what he had signed; and what is more astonishing is that the Pope freed the King from his oath. Then followed civil war, in which the barons appointed the dauphin of France as King of England. John ravaged the Midland Counties, marched against Lincoln and the Eastern Counties, and crossing the Wash, lost his crown and baggage. He fled, some say being

poisoned, but it looks more likely that vexation at his loss killed him. He died at Newark, and even then thought that he could cheat Heaven, for he expressly desired that his body might be buried before the high altar in Worcester Cathedral, between the tombs of two saints, St. Oswald and St. Wulstan; as if their virtues would pass him into Paradise. One of his treasure chests—a strong iron box, trunk shaped, and bound with metal bands, as heavy empty as several men could carry—is shown in the entrance hall at Rockingham Castle, said to have been recovered from the wreck. He would like to have taken his crown to the unseen world, but that was lost in more ways than one, and the only thing that he was allowed—and forced—to take, he would rather have left behind him, for that was his character; for the life fixed the character, and the character fixed the destiny. A man accursed.

> "Which way I fly is hell: myself am hell;
> And in the lowest deep a lower deep
> Still threat'ning to devour me, opens wide,
> To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven."
>
> *Milton.*

CHAPTER XV.

BLYTH TOURNAMENT.

"Blyth Tournament Field" was an important institution in the County seven hundred years ago. In the *Dukery Records* of Mr. Robert White, there is an article by the Rev. J. Stacye, in which he says that five places—and five only—were licensed by Richard I. for holding Public Tournaments in England, one of which was between "Sarum et Wilton," one between "Warewick et Kenelingwrthe," one between "Stamford et Warineford," one between "Brakeleye et Mixebr," and the other between "Blie et Tykehill." The licence is dated August 22nd, 1194. It fixes the sum to be paid to the Exchequer by those intending to tourney: thus, an earl must pay twenty marks; a baron, ten; a landed knight, four; a knight without land, two, etc. A Tournament may be described as a mock fight, or warlike game, in which a number of combatants were engaged, as an exhibition of their

address and bravery. It was in great favour, and had doubtless been carried on long before the date given. The object was partly to encourage skill and bravery, and partly the entertainment of the people. The knowledge of the site of the ground, described as between Blyth and Tickhill, has long been lost. At Blyth was a monastery, and at Tickhill a castle, both of which were built by Roger de Busli, a Norman baron, whom William the Conqueror rewarded with enormous possessions in our County, in Yorkshire, and elsewhere. The following statement appears to clear up the difficulty as to the site.

Mr. Robert White, in his *Dukery Records*, gives particulars of a Survey of an Estate in the township of Styrrup, formerly belonging to the Earl of Arundel, and at present forming part of the property of the Shrewsbury Hospital at Sheffield, which Survey was made by Mr. Harrison in 1636; and from the particulars and names of the fields given therein, Mr. White comes to the conclusion that a field half a mile south of Styrrup, and in Harrison's Survey called "Terminings," or "Styrrop Meadowe," with the adjoining field, called "Wreker (Wreaker) Furlong," but more recently called "Raker-field," is the true site of the tournament ground.

These fields, in 1636, were between the road leading from Styrrup Hall to Whitewater farm on the north-east, and the lane leading from the Smithy at the bottom of Styrrup village towards Whitewater plantation on the south-west, and so would be about two hundred and fifty yards south of where "Mount Pleasant" now stands, and thence south-westerly. To the north and west of this site is a range of hills sloping to the level ground below, on which slope vast numbers of people assembled might witness the performances. The "Raker-field" has now different boundaries to those it had, being now sixteen acres of arable. The ancient use of the word "Wreaker" was an avenger; we retain the use in the term of "wreaking vengeance." The present name of "Raker's field" is the old name spelt as sounded, but not according to its original meaning; while the word "Terminings," which is submitted was "Tournayings," is entirely lost. One reason for the original adoption of the French Tournaments in the dreadful reign of Stephen, was "to train a body of Knights' Adventurers from the south of England, who should be enabled to compete successfully with the foreign knights, with

which the country swarmed, and to protect the defenceless, and especially women, from their rapine and violence."

The Whitewater lake was, in 1636, "well furnished with pikes, trench, elles (eels), roch, daces, and other fish. And no man hath any privilege to fish in this water, nor to foule in any of the aforesaid places, but only the Earle of Arundell, and his assignes." The water is now, however, carried off by the drain. Oldcotes Whinney Common was on the south-westerly side, and Whitewater Common was to the south. Formerly there were here five roads meeting, apparently with a view to getting ready access to the place. Probably the ground was fenced with either a permanent or temporary fence, and it may be, with an inner and outer ring, as our racecourses now are. This would be necessary to keep a clear course, as the combatants rode in full force at each other, and returned.

Richard Cœur de Lion (1189-1199) so greatly encouraged these tournaments, that they became long-continued national sports, with splendid horsemanship and great festivity.

In 1217, Robert FitzWalter, Marshall of the Army of God and of the Holy Church, sent letters to the earls, barons, and knights of England, to assemble at Blyth for a grand Tournament. The "Angel" Inn at Blyth—an inn from time immemorial—the "Saracen's Head," and other inns and hostelries there, and at Tickhill, Worksop, Retford, and even at Doncaster, would be crowded with the grooms and other humble retainers of the great men who were to take a prominent part in the proceedings; while the magnates themselves, and their esquires, were receiving noble hospitality in the mansions of the Lords of Tickhill, Worksop, Torksay, Conisborough, and Sprotborough. (Raine.) "From every town and village for miles around may be seen the artizan and the peasant, in their best holiday attire, flocking to the great point of attaction, together with numerous wandering pedlars and minstrels, who gain their living by following in the train of English chivalry, and whose wild appearance, and restless habits, give a peculiar hue and character to these gatherings."

At length came prohibitions, either on the ground that they had been carried on without the King's licence, or because there had been foul play and cruelty resorted to. The Pope interdicted them on the grounds of humanity, and it was thought "that they drew away the chivalrous spirit of Europe from the wars against the Turks in Palestine." In

1223, Henry III. issued from Nottingham writs to the Sheriffs of Nottingham and other towns named, to seize the lands and chattels of various persons, on the ground of having been at a Tournament at Blyth, contrary to a prohibition; probably heavy fines followed. In 1255, Henry III. sent a letter to the earls, barons, knights, and others, about to assemble at Blyth to tourney, but owing to accounts received of the perilous position in which Prince Edward was placed in Gascony, the permission was withdrawn. There was also a prohibition in 1259. A letter as to a Tournament was sent in April, 1273, by Edward I.; while in 1314, the Sheriff of Nottingham was ordered by Edward II. to make proclamation prohibiting any one tourneying at Blyth, or elsewhere, without the King's licence, the penalty being arrest with horse and harness.

Ivanhoe. Sir Walter Scott, in the twelfth chapter of *Ivanhoe*, gives a description of a Tournament, and at the Agricultural Hall, or Olympia, in London, there is given every May, a Naval and Military display of feats of skill and smartness, horsemanship, and bloodless contests, that give a very pleasurable entertainment, and include a lively representation of a Tournament in the olden time. "The Queen of Love and Beauty" sat in state, with attendants, on a throne or raised platform. A great procession of knights, and others, on horseback or on foot, gaily dressed, passed before the Queen. There were ladies astride of bedecked steeds. There were trumpeters, and music of a stirring kind accompanied the procession. Youths and maidens, dressed in a variety of colours, in which red and green predominated, danced, or played leap-frog, and other games, as they passed along. The Court Jester, dressed in comic costume, and riding on a donkey, with grotesque actions and queer shouts, rushed hither and thither. Knights clad in armour that covered every part of the body likely to be attacked, and seated on horses, also armoured, accompanied by a great body of attendants, some of whom carried a canopy of honour over the head of their knight, and with noisy shouts cheered their champion as he proceeded in front of the Queen, to whom he bowed, and who returned the salutation. Then came the contests, in which with lances, or spears, or swords, or battle-axes, each knight in succession rushed at his fellow and unhorsed him, or broke his lance, or wounded or killed his antagonist, while the music drowned the groans of the victims, and the people shouted, and even fair ladies cheered, as joust after joust of single knights competed against each

other; or contests of companies ended in one side or the other being declared victors, and were crowned, or otherwise rewarded, by "The Queen of Love and Beauty." These sports continued to be popular until and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who occasionally attended them.

Tennyson. In Tennyson's *Last Tournament*, we have a lively presentation of a Tournament scene:—

"But when the morning of a Tournament,
By these in earnest those in mockery call'd
The Tournament of the Dead Innocence,
Brake with a wet wind blowing, Lancelot,
Round whose sick head all night, like birds of prey,
The words of Arthur flying shriek'd, arose,
And down a streetway, hung with folds of pure
White samite, and by fountains running wine,
Where children sat in white with cups of gold,
Moved to the lists, and there, with slow sad steps
Ascending, fill'd his double-dragon'd chair.

He glanced and saw the stately galleries,
Dame, damsel, each thro' worship of their Queen
White-robed in honour of the stainless child,
And some with scatter'd jewels, like a bank
Of maiden snow mingled with sparks of fire.
He look'd but once, and vail'd his eyes again.

The sudden trumpet sounded as in a dream
To ears but half awaked, then one low roll
Of Autumn thunder, and the jousts began:
And ever the wind blew, and yellowing leaf
And gloom and gleam, and shower and shorn plume
Went down it."

The scene of rush and struggle, of conquest and crowning, is too long for quotation, and we come to a sad termination. The prize is won, and presented by the victor to the object of his affections, as his last

"'Love-offering and peace-offering unto thee.'

He spoke, he turn'd, then, flinging round her neck,
Claspt it, and cried 'Thine Order, O my Queen!'
But, while he bow'd to kiss the jewell'd throat,
Out of the dark, just as the lips had touch'd,
Behind him rose a shadow and a shriek—
'Mark's way,' said Mark, and clove him thro' the brain."

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE IN THE 14TH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XVI.

MORTIMER'S HOLE, 1330.

At the foot of the Nottingham Castle rock, on the eastern side, are four streets: they are only common streets, but they have names of interest, for they refer to persons in high places, the names being Edward, Isabella, Mortimer, and March Streets, and these streets are so named in memory of a story I will now tell. Let us look at the persons first.

Edward II. became King in 1307, and was deposed and murdered in 1327. He was not without ability, but was a worthless man. He was contending with his barons, who wrung from him promises of better government, but he put in power, as chief minister, one who was jovial and improvident, and cared more for pleasure than for the good government of the people. He had involved the country in great expense and humiliation in his wars with Scotland, in which Robert Bruce was more than a match for him; a terrible succession of years of famine, in which children and prisoners were sacrificed for food, made the people sour in their minds; and then arose among the barons a conspiracy, and a determination to overthrow the King. Queen Isabella, a sister of the King of France, should go with her son—afterwards Edward III., who was then twelve years of age—to France, to do homage for the Duchies of Gascony and Aquitanie. The King, apparently, was not beloved by either the Queen or the Prince, and both of them refused to return. Apparently, the Queen was privy to a conspiracy on the part of the nobles, which caused the King to flee, and a Parliament held at Westminster deposed him, on the ground of unworthiness, indolence, incapacity, the violation of his coronation oath, oppression, etc. The young Prince was proclaimed King, as Edward III., and the following September the old King was murdered with fiendish cruelty in Berkeley Castle.

The wars with Scotland continued, for the Scots were fighting with intense earnestness for life and liberty—brave men bravely led, enduring great hardships, and living almost on porridge to avoid being burdened with luxuries. The English, on the other hand, were no match for such men; they were led by the boy King, and by men of luxury and

self-indulgence, were foiled, and failed, and sued for peace. Scotland was declared independent, and Bruce was acknowledged as King.

Mortimer. When Queen Isabella was in France, she was there joined by Roger Mortimer, a young baron from the Welsh Marches, who, having been condemned for treason, was detained in the Tower of London, from which he escaped to France; and, being a man of considerable grace, he ingratiated himself into the Court and company of Isabella, became her counsellor, and then her paramour; and this immoral life continued when they returned to England, and led to great dissatisfaction and disgust against them both. A Council of Regency was formed to act during the King's minority, but although Mortimer was not one of the Council, he practically usurped sovereign authority, acting in connivance with the Queen Mother, and surrounded the young King with creatures of his own, so that no access could be gained to him. He then proceeded to kill, or attempted to kill, whoever stood in his way, and seized their estates, the result being that a strong conspiracy was formed against him, and the conspirators managed to secure the approval of the young King, who, being now eighteen years of age, determined to exercise his rights as King, which rights Mortimer had traitorously and wickedly usurped: and Nottingham Castle was fixed on as the best place for the arrest.

William Eland. At that time the Governor of the Castle was away at the Wars, and his deputy was William Eland, whose Manor was at a house called Algarthorpe, in the parish of Basford, who, it was found, had no love for Mortimer; and his house, being in a forest district only a mile and a half from the Castle, it was a convenient place for consultation. Here let us copy a manuscript chronicle, preserved by Deering, and supposed by him to be written about the time of Henry V. (1413-1422). It tells the tale quaintly and forcibly.

"And in hast ther came unto Kyng Edw. Sir
"William Montague, that he was in his castell and
"pryvelyche told him, that he ne none of his companions
"shulde not take the Mortimer without counsaile and
"helpe of William Eland, constabill of the same castell.
"Now certis quod kyng Edward I leve you full well, and
"therefor I counsaill you that ye goo unto the saide
"constabill, and commaunde him in my name that he be

"your frende and your helper for to take the Mortimer,
"all things left uppon peyne of lyfe and lymmbe. Sir
"quod Mountague my lorde graunte mercye. Tho went
"forth the saide Mountague and come to the constabill
"of the castell and told him the kyng's wille, and he
"answered, the kyng's wille shulde be done in all that
"he myght, and he wolde not spare for no manner of deth
"and so he swhore and made his othe. Tho saide Sir
"William Mountague to the constabill in herynge of all
"them that were helpyng to the quarrel. Now certis
"dere ffrendes us behoveth for to worche and done by
"your Queyntyfe to take the Mortimer, sith ye be the
"keeper of the castell and have the kayes in your warde.
"Sir quod the constabill woll ye understonde that the
"yats of the castell beth loken with lokys, and queen
"Isabell sent hidder by night for the kayes thereof, and
"they be layde under the chemsell of her beddis hede
"unto the morrow, and so I may not come into the castell
"by the yats no manner of wyse, but yet I know another
"weye by an aley that stretchith oute of the ward under
"the earthe into the castell that gooth into the west,
"which aley queen Isabell, ne none of her meayne, ne
"the Mortimer ne none of his companye knowith it not,
"and so I shall lede you through the aley, and so ye
"shall come into the castell without aspyes of any man
"that beth your enemies, etc."

NOTE.—Eland Hall, fifty years ago, stood west of Mr. Ashwell's bleaching yard, opposite to Eland School.

A Night March. There was great activity in Nottingham Castle on the night of October the 19th, 1330, for the Queen Mother was then in residence with Mortimer, and the Bishop of Lincoln, and a guard of one hundred and eighty knights. An hour before midnight the young King, with half a dozen barons, including William de Clinton, an ancestor of the Newcastle family, and others, left Algarthorpe, led by William Eland, and proceeded through the Forest to the foot of the Castle, probably by crossing the Derby Road and going quietly down the deep valley in the Park, until they came near to the Brewhouse, and there entered by a low door in a recess on the southern side of the rock, the narrow subterranean passage that ascended to the top of the rock. Arriving at the top, they came to a door that Eland cautiously

opened, and the company found themselves in the very heart of the Castle. Alarm was given by the guards, swords were quickly drawn by both parties, and two of the guards were instantly cut down; but the others, perceiving that the King was one of the party, immediately desisted. The King, Sir William Montague (or Monacute), and other knights rushed forward, and found Mortimer in consultation with the Bishop of Lincoln. He at once seized Mortimer, and the others proceeded to drag him from the room, as Isabella rushed in and piteously cried out in French: "Fair son! Fair son! Have pity on the gentle Mortimer, for he is a worthy knight, and our well-beloved friend and cousin!" But all without avail.

A Prisoner. It was a pitiable sight that the people saw the next day, when the proud, haughty man passed in fetters in the procession over Trent Bridge on the way to London, where he was lodged in the Tower, and accused of usurpation; of having procured the death of the late King; of having wasted the public treasury; of having improperly obtained various moneys and property; and of other crimes and misdemeanours. Without a trial, or a witness being examined, Parliament condemned him, and he was hanged at Tyburn, not far from where Smithfield Market now stands, and his estates were confiscated. It is, however, to be noted that twenty-four years afterwards Mortimer's grandson induced Parliament to reverse the sentence, on the grounds that the whole proceedings were illegal; for the life of no prisoner may be taken without a fair trial.

Isabella. The Queen was confined to her own house at Risings, near London, where a formal visit was once a year paid by her son, but she was not allowed to take any public position, so she had time to reflect upon the odious part she had acted in deserting her husband, conspiring for his overthrow, and having given strong grounds for suspicion of having a guilty knowledge of his foul murder, while at the same time she was living with the principal ruling minister, in open violation of the laws of morality. Yet this vile woman, once an innocent girl, had been one of the greatest beauties of her time. How did she fall?

Oh! Mother Eve! While many of your daughters have equalled you in being only one step from the angelic, some of them have sunk exceedingly low, to nearly a level with the

Satanic. I care little whether the story of your troubles is a record of historic fact, or an allegory for the benefit of all the ages, but it is true to life to-day. You listened to the tempter; you saw that beautiful fruit (apples, or actions: it matters not); you saw, you desired, you took, you ate, you gave—there's a down grade!—and your eyes were opened to an awful reality. Truly, you were the Mother of all living; and in our Eden to-day in Nottinghamshire, in morals, we, like you, do not fall like an avalanche, headlong—WE SLIDE.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BLACK DEATH, 1349.

We will now see how the Black Death killed villeinage.

Before doing this, let us refer to a very valuable provision that was inserted in a Charter granted by Henry II. to Nottingham, 1155-1166, which doubtless would be taken advantage of by some of the villeins: "And if anyone whencesoever he may be shall dwell in the Borough of Nottingham a year and a day, in time of peace, without claim, no one afterwards except the King shall have any right in him."

When the Commissioners of William the Conqueror took an account of every parish in our County, as well as the rest of the country, fifteen to twenty years after the Conquest, there were in most places villeins and serfs. The villeins were small farmers, who held land subject to compulsory service to the lord of the Manor, for one or more days in a week, or as required, without monetary payment, but with food, clothing, and protection; with few rights, and many wrongs. The serfs were in a still more degraded position; although well fed, they were sold with the land, and could not leave it. The Norman bondage of the villeins was worse than it had been among the Saxons, but it was better for the serfs, for one of the laws of the Conqueror prohibited the exportation of slaves, and so diminished their value to the owner, and made their lives the easier, if not the happier. Now the Black Death—that is, a plague so called, that produced on its victims black spots, and killed them within two days—was a

terrible calamity that in 1349 destroyed between one third and one half the population of England, and some say, of mankind generally, and it took two hundred years to regain lost ground. For two years Parliament and the Law Courts were closed, and corn was ungathered. At Newark, on May 5th, 1349, licence was granted for the enclosing of a new church yard in Appleton Gate, for there was not room in the old church yard to bury the dead, the mortality being so excessive. Whole districts being thrown out of cultivation, and almost whole villages being depopulated, the result was that the number of laborers being diminished, the survivors demanded double wages, and combined to enforce it. Parliament passed several Acts to keep them down, but all in vain. The King wanted to abolish villeinage, but the nobles refused. They put down a rebellion (Wat Tyler's), but were otherwise powerless, for labourers could not be got, and landowners were afraid, or were unable, to enforce compulsory service ; and so it came to pass that villeinage and serfdom fell gradually into disuse, and good came out of evil, as it often does.

The law as to villeinage was not repealed, but fell into disuse. Here is a very old law book, *Lyttleton on Tenures, truly translated into English*. It was written by Sir Thomas Lyttleton, a famous judge, who died in 1481. It is a work that was thought much of, for is not *Coke on Lyttleton* a standard work? And the good old judge thought something of it, for a clause in his will says : "Also I wille that my grete English Boke be sold by myn executors, and the money thereof to be disposed for my soul."

Here is an extract from chapter XI., folio xlii., which shows what bad laws we had in the good old times : "As if a villayne purchase lande in fee simple or in fee tayle, the lord of the villain may enter into the land, and put out his villayne and his heires for ever, and after the lord if he will may let the same land to the villayne to hold in villenage." Let us thank God that the days of villeinage are for ever gone, and that now the poorest man is safe according to his bargain for security or length of tenure, and for reasonable tenant rights and improvements.

The Black Death had other effects than the gradual killing of villeinage. One was the great interference with the monasteries, whose churches and buildings were large and spacious, and the endowments and gifts accordingly ; but

when half the inmates died, and the number of incoming inmates for the next two hundred years was reduced one half, there arose an excess of income to some monasteries, and a deficiency, by reduced income, to others. The burdens of repairs were the heavier in proportion to numbers, while by reason of the poverty of the people, the cost of relief must have been greater. In the long run a needy King looked with covetous eyes upon so much land, buildings, and income, for so few persons, and enquired: "Is it good?" The answer was: "No!"—and the "auctioneer's" hammer came down with: "Gone!"

Another effect was upon the language of the upper classes, so-called: that is, the Norman landowners and the aristocracy, which up to this time had been French; for the clergy had acted as school teachers, and so many of them died off, that there were few learned persons left to take their place. Out of one hundred and twenty-six beneficed clergy in our County, sixty-five died, the Vicar of Egmanton, the Cantorist of Edwinstowe, and the Prior of Newstead being among them. Young and inexperienced priests had to be appointed in their places. Diseases broke out among flocks of sheep, which had to be neglected, and so perished, while corn was unreaped, for the landowners died; and so, in many ways, society was disorganised.

There was probably some gain, in this respect: that although the grandeur of religious display was reduced by reason of poverty, yet the piety of individuals was increased, for death was brought very near, and the plague kept breaking out again at intervals, and life was felt to be very uncertain. Churches that were building at the time of the plague were stopped, and when they were started again the forms of architecture had to some extent changed. Newark Church is said to be an example of this stoppage and change. The tenure or holding of land, too, came in a different form, for the small farmers attached to the land had, by reason of so much land being uncultivated, to give place to larger holders having leases from the Crown.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PEASANTS AND WYCLIFFE, 1381.

"The events of the struggle of 1381 were of great importance to the welfare of the mass of the people," says Mr. R. Heath. "The common labourer was a good worker, and orderly; paid his dues and rendered his service; helped his fellows, and lived in charity with others. His circle was small, for he worked only in one parish, and side by side with other villagers in common work. They all lived in one place; farmed in strips one area; helped one another. They met together under the village elm, and settled their differences. The appearance of the great man, fresh from London, to demand that they should pay this or that extra service, and be paid only 2d. a day, caused dismay among them. Since the Black Death of 1349, prices had risen, and they could not live on 2d. Parliament had, however, decided that 2d. should be the price, and the penalty for refusing was going to prison, and in case of evasion, branding with a hot iron on the forehead the letter 'F.' In 1349, 1350, and 1360, the Statutes of Labourers tried regulation. In 1381, the Parliament of Northampton, wanting money to carry on the War with France, decided that every adult person over fifteen should pay one shilling, so that in large families this would be serious, and would amount to a week's wages. This provoked rebellion against landlordism. It must be remembered that the lord of the manor was judge in his own court, and in the early times the power, though seldom used, extended to putting to death a rebellious tenant. Three days a week they might claim the labourer's work."

Now the people rose in indignation, and John Ball became a leader, for he preached the doctrine of the equality of man in regard to social rights and justice. "By what right," he exclaimed, "are they whom we call lords, greater folks than we? On what ground have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother—of Adam and Eve—how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our wit what they spend in their pride?" And John Ball summed up his levelling doctrine in the famous couplet—

"When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

The time of deliverance, however, was not yet come. The labourers rose in revolt. The King was in their favour, but the landowners would not give way; the leaders were killed; the people subdued.

It may be noted here that in those days a lamb could be bought for 1s. 6d.; a calf for 2s.; a quarter of wheat for 6s.; a hen for 2d.; twenty eggs for 1d.; a pound of butter for 1d., and of cheese for ¾d. So a labourer earning 4d. a day was fairly well off, but at 2d. a day he could not live.

Wycliffe. John Wycliffe tried to bring help in another direction, but he died on December 31st, 1384. The close of that century, and the early part of the following one, was an age of sadness and sorrow. The new learning was dawning at a time when Rome was the centre of vice, and throughout Europe was lawlessness. The Black Death had introduced such an upsetting, that for a hundred years afterwards there was poverty, suffering, shame, and sorrow. The Church, so called, was almost a curse rather than a blessing; and had it not been for the faith in an invisible Church, of those who love God, and seek to follow Christ—the example, the power, and the hope of goodness—men would have sunk into absolute atheism, for the heads of the Church seem to have been at that time utterly corrupt and worldly, seeking not the good of the people, but caring only for the great wealth that the Church now had, and so miserably wasted. Wycliffe, in his writings, insisted on inward religion, in opposition to the outward formalism of the time. He tried to bring home to everyone his responsibility to God. He organized a body of poor preachers, whom he sent out in russet gowns, and barefooted, to preach the Gospel throughout the country, and to distribute his tracts and homilies. How far they reached our County we do not know, but Lutterworth, where he worked and died, is in the adjoining county, and therefore probably our County ancestors received the benefit of their services, both in regard to preaching, and through the translation of the Bible into the English language, of which there was previously no complete version. When Wycliffe published his translation it was regarded by the Church as not good for the people, but as an evil—as casting pearls before swine—for the Bible taught them doctrines and rights they did not understand, and which they might use against the existing order of society. The translation put into the hands of the

few who could read, the power to expound to their neighbours; here therefore was an insidious attack upon the functions of the clergy, who were the only duly authorized channels of communication from God to man.

After Wycliffe's death, he was excommunicated by Archbishop Arundel. In the decree of the Council of Constance, passed in 1415, the order was made to exhume and burn his bones, "for this holy synod giveth sentence that the same John Wycliffe was a notorious heretic, and that he died obstinate in his heresy; cursing alike him, and condemning his memory." So many years after his death, with impotent rage, his bones were disinterred and burnt, and the ashes thrown into the little River Swift, which carried them on towards the sea; and the whole world has felt the force of the ripple, for the small things of the world are mighty through God.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BATTLE OF EAST STOKE, 16TH JUNE, 1487.

For nearly one hundred years the families of the great Houses of York and Lancaster had cursed the country with their rival claims, and efforts to secure power and supremacy. The Battle of Bosworth, in Leicestershire, twenty miles from the border of our County, had been fought; Richard III., the head of the house of York, whose symbol was the White Rose, having marched from Nottingham Castle, had been killed, and Prince Henry (now to be called Henry VII.), the head of the House of Lancaster, whose symbol was the Red Rose, had claimed the throne; had promised that he would marry Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV.. and so unite the blood of the Red and White Roses; and Parliament, having confirmed Henry as King, the marriage took place. The state of the country was very sad. "There is no country in the world," wrote a Venetian visitor, "where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England; insomuch that very few venture to go alone in the country excepting in the middle of the day, and fewer still in the towns at night, and least of all in London."

It was, however, determined that the King and Queen should make a royal procession to the North, for there were still many of the York faction secretly conspiring against the King. The royal progress through the country was satisfactory, and all seemed to have settled down, when a storm arose. At Oxford, there was a young priest named Richard Symonds, who had a young pupil named Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford joiner, a sharp, good-looking boy. It occurred to Symonds that he might pass the boy Lambert off as a young prince, and if the ruse succeeded, and he became King, he (Symonds) would be made Archbishop of Canterbury. There were in Ireland some very strong partisans of both the White and the Red Rose. Symonds—possibly with the connivance of the Earl of Lincoln—took the boy to Ireland, and there it was determined to revive the claims of the House of York, and many of the greatest men joined in the conspiracy under the Earl of Lincoln, and on the 24th of May, 1487, Simnel was crowned as Edward VI. in Dublin Cathedral. Coins with the new King's effigy were struck; a Parliament was convened; proclamations issued; and it was determined to invade and conquer England. Many Irishmen came in the army of invasion, accompanied by two thousand Germans, hired by Margaret of Burgundy. They landed on the coast of Lancashire, and went to York. They did not receive the aid they expected, so turned south, and came through the Forest of Sherwood, with a view to seize the famous fortress of Newark. They are supposed to have marched by way of Mansfield and Southwell, fording the Trent at Fiskerton, the water being at that time (June) very low, and crossing Stoke Marsh, ascended the cliff to Stoke Field.

Meanwhile the King with his army marched across the country by way of Leicester and Loughborough to Nottingham, where he received the addition of six thousand men. The troops passed the night in the fields under Bunny Wood, the advanced division being "well and warely loggede under the hill to Nottingham warde"—probably Wilford Hills—and others resting in Ruddington. Several spies were apprehended, and being summarily convicted at the drum-head, were "hanged on the ashe which stood at Nottingham brigge ende." The King is supposed to have lodged at Holme Pierrepont, and the next day being *Corpus Christi* day, the next Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the King attended service in the Parish Church. "That night"—I am quoting from a narrative

given in the *Annals of Nottinghamshire*—"the King's hooste lay under the end of that hill towarde Nottingham, Lenton warde, and his forwarde before him to Nottingham bridge, and the Erle of Derby's hooste on the King's left hand, to the meadows beside Lenton." The same evening the King held a great Council of War in the Castle. On Friday, intelligence was received of the position taken up by the enemy at Stoke, and so the troops were set in motion, and passed the night at Radcliffe; and on Saturday, which the King regarded as his lucky day, he rose early, and having heard two masses by his chaplains, the trumpets sounded to arms, and accompanied by "six goode and trewe men of the village of Radcliffe which showde his grace the beste waye for to conduct his hooste to Newarke," the advanced guard, in good order and array, arrived before nine o'clock, "beside a village called Stook, a large myle out of Newarke, recountrede his enemies and rebells, when he had the victorye." The "large myle" spoken of is four miles.

The Battle. It is unnecessary here to describe the terrible battle, in which each side fought in desperate earnest—Lord Bacon says—for three hours before victory inclined either way; but at length the King's forces charged with a furious onslaught, and the enemy fled, and were pursued down the precipitous descent into Stoke Marsh, the ravine obtaining the name of "The Red Gutter," for the carnage was awful; four thousand of the Earl of Lincoln's men, as well as himself were slain, and two thousand to three thousand on the other side. That seven thousand men should have to lay down their lives in supporting or opposing the pretensions of a bad lad seems an outrage on our humanity. Yet such was the case in the bloodiest battle ever fought on Nottinghamshire soil, and which is considered to be the end of the Middle Ages, and the beginning of the *Renaissance*, or the revival of learning. Hollinshed dilates on the "hyghe prowess, manfull stomackes, and hardie and courageous hartes of the King's adversaries." The priest who had occasioned the mischief was taken prisoner, consigned to a dungeon, and never again heard of. The boy, Simnel, was also taken prisoner, and, to the credit of the King, was pardoned, and sent as a "turnspit" into the King's kitchen, afterwards being promoted to be the King's Falconer.

Indignation, pity, gratitude, and hopefulness, will follow a consideration of the facts recorded: indignation—that a

Nottinghamshire nobleman should, for his own possible selfish advancement, have run the risk of sacrificing the lives of such a vast number of his fellow men ; pity—not so much for the two thousand Germans who had hired themselves out to fight, and must therefore take all the risks, as for the three thousand Irishmen, almost naked, who were armed only with darts and skeans, and who fought under a cruel deception ; and for all the others, and their families, who had to suffer because they were compelled to accompany their masters and leaders. On the other hand, we shall feel grateful, because this awful contest settled those wicked wars of rival families that had been such a curse to the nation ; and, further, a reflection that the days of hand-to-hand contest in battle are largely among the things of the past, for the modern destructive weapons invented enormously lessen the loss of life in battle. The whole of the killed on the British side in the South African War was only 5,774 ; and this consideration will lead us to the hope that the increased value set upon human life may lead to men of all nations saying : " We will not fight ; our differences shall be settled by arbitration, or in the words of the old song—

' Let them who make the quarrels,
Be the only men who fight.' "

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREAT RUPTURE.

We now approach the time when the great rupture with Rome took place, and monies hitherto regarded as sacred were appropriated for secular and selfish purposes. Let us look at the causes leading up to such a state of things ; for when plants grow vigorously there is usually a prepared soil.

The Wars of the Roses, that is, the bitter feud between the great Houses of York and Lancaster, continued from 1452 to 1487, with constant hostilities and bloodshed, rendering life and property insecure, as well as inducing a kind of brutality that would take generations to remove. These Wars and the Black Death would greatly thin the numbers and destroy the spirit of the nobles, while they would also bitterly

impoverish the people. Moreover, it became necessary for the gentry to turn their attention to offices with salaries under the King, and corruption in the administration became common, with bribery and extortion, and so justice often could not be obtained. Law cases were not heard for years, and men in prisons were starved. Wealth was worshipped; the Church was corrupt; the bishops were largely place-seekers; there was little discipline; foreigners were rewarded for their services by being appointed bishops; various livings were in the hands of one man; many bishops were non-resident, the result being that parochial duties were neglected. The clergy were required to preach in their parishes not less than four times a year, but often this was not done; and it is said that the Archbishop of York who succeeded Wolsey, reported that in the whole of his diocese he could find only twelve of the parochial clergy able and willing to preach to their people. Wolsey, it will be remembered, when he passed through our County to go to York, had never been there to administer his duties until that fatal journey.

The luxury and vain display of the bishops tended to wean the people from real religion. When they saw monies, left for sacred purposes, spent in keeping up great establishments, in feasting and banquetting, in pompous display, and saw the holders of sacred offices striving after power and influence, not for the public good, but for their own advantage, the effect must have been to excite opposition, a desire to share the spoils, and a readiness to appropriate what was so badly used. Dean Colet, preaching at St. Paul's in 1512, said: "Let the laws be rehearsed that command the personal residence of the curates (priests) in their churches. For of this many evils grow, because all things now-a-days are done by vicars and parish priests, yea, and those foolish also and unmeet—and oftentimes wicked—that seek none other thing in the people than foul lucre, whereof cometh occasion of evil heresies and ill Christianity in the people." The people seem to have been annoyed at the monks trading, and at the bishops enclosing lands. Several complaints were made as to Archbishop Savage imparking and enclosing and appropriating lands in the parish of Scrooby.

Here, therefore, we have everything favourable to the appropriation of spiritual funds for secular purposes. Spiritual life almost dead. Those whose business it was to look after spiritual work engrossed in self-seeking, and self-gratification,

pluralities, absenteeism, neglect, and, on the other hand, the land owners and the people poor; all that was necessary was for an occasion to arise to take advantage of the position, and the occasion soon came.

Backwater. There are some good churchmen who are always wanting to go back to pre-Reformation days, and to imitate church services as they were then conducted. But why? In many of those days corruption was general; the temporal and spiritual powers were violently contending; and the people themselves were sunk in ignorance and poverty and vice. It was not so always, or everywhere, but largely so. There were, it is true, magnificent cathedrals and churches built, but the houses of the people did not correspond, and God is not honoured by fine buildings unless the social condition of the people is tending upward, towards purity and righteousness and happiness. If we are to go back, contrary to nature, let us go back further than what are called pre-Reformation days; let us go back to the early centuries of the Church, when its adherents loved God in the simple faith that exposed them to the risk of martyrdom; when they sought to live the Christ-life, and tell the Christ-story for the help and salvation of their fellow-men, involving them in opposition, persecution, loss of goods and liberty, and even life, and yet holding their faith, doing their work, and leaving the consequences to God. Their church order might be very simple, their ritual almost non-existent; but their lives were noble, their work for God was earnest, their sacrifices of ease and comfort, and disregard of possessions, having but one desire—to please God, and do good to their fellow-men.

If we are to go back, let us go back far enough; not to the days of luxury and evil indulgence by the Church, but to the days of hardship and simplicity, of purity and real spiritual power. Desiring to go back, however, is like crying for the moon—we cannot have it; and wisdom demands that we go forward in the open path of duty, with the royal law in our hearts of responsibility for promoting the edification and welfare of those around us.

Vitality. Yet those early days of the Church were not only days of spiritual power, because religion was to the holders a question not of ritual and ceremonial display, but of individual relationship with God; they were the days in which Christianity spread without money, without buildings,

lacking the aid of art and music, but having the aid of earnest conviction and living zeal. So the truth spread, and became a power to cleanse and elevate, to direct and comfort those who received it; while in marked contrast, when there came every advantage that the grandest buildings on earth could give, with Gregorian chants and ornate ritual, then the power was gone, for the outward display had weakened the inward life. Men were religious by deputy, and looked for salvation by ordinances, and not by an indwelling Spirit; and zeal exhausted itself in formalism, and money brought self-indulgence, pride, ambition, force, envy, uncharitableness, and spiritual death; for Christ was shut out of His own Church, and had to stand at the door and knock at individual hearts, and say: "If any man will open the door, I will come in to him."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MONASTERIES.

King Henry VIII.

Before studying the question of the Suppression of the Monasteries, there are three persons whose characters we must study, because their actions so largely affected our County. The first is the King, who succeeded his father in 1509. The father was a hard worker, and a very avaricious man, who, having reigned twenty-four years, had accumulated great wealth, so that one authority says he left £1,800,000. Another statement says that the King heaped up his mass of treasure, and left in bullion £4,500,000, besides his plate, jewels, and rich attire. The former amount seems to be the most probably correct, for that sum would in our currency be of the value of £18,000,000. The son, when he succeeded to the throne, was only eighteen years of age, at which time he is said to have been handsome in face and figure, having great energy, a skilled athlete, fond of field sports, yachting, a tennis player, and a swordsman. He played on several instuments, and would go a-maying with his friends, disguised as Robin Hood. He had a quick intellect, and a determination to be just, and to act with clemency. At the same time, personal vanity was shown by the rich and highly coloured raiment he wore, and by the gorgeous and costly shows and frivolous amusements in which

he delighted. He was probably told, and—not having the modest estimate of himself that King Canute had—throughout life believed that the King could do no wrong, which as a maxim for the law courts may be harmless, but for a King to hold in actual life, in his moral and social relations, is worse than an affliction of leprosy.

Between thirty and forty years pass away, and the handsome young man has become very aged (he died an old man at fifty-six), and so stout that the Spanish Chronicler says: "The King was so fat that such a man had never been seen. Three of the biggest men that could be found could get inside his doublet." "Mechanical means had to be employed to lift him." "His legs, covered with running ulcers, were useless to him, and in terrible torture." We pity the bodily sufferings, but the course of life pursued doubtless directly contributed to the premature old age and disease. Worse than the bodily ailments was his temper, which became irritable, and easily enraged to anger, impatient of contradiction or restraint, without any consideration for others, and indeed the slightest offence ensured the block. Protestants and Catholics alike who did not accept the spiritual supremacy of the King were burnt, or otherwise destroyed, and Melancthon wrote (17th August, 1540) praying that God might destroy "this British Nero." Ann Askew was tortured and burnt, with three companions, for the denial of Transubstantiation. "Judicial murders" must be the term applied to the cases of men who were for a variety of reasons regarded as objectionable, were charged with treason, and, without hardly a show of a trial, were despatched.

The vice for which the King had two of his wives executed was such as he was continually practising himself, and had we a faithful portrait of him in his later years to contrast with those of his earlier days, we should doubtless see a sad example of the influence of vice on the countenance. Perhaps Cranmer did his duty when the King was dying, exhorting him to place all his hope in the mercy of God through Christ, and asking him to give some sign of his hope, which he did; but his life had been an open defiance of the declaration that "the wisdom that comes from above is first pure," and after that is "full of mercy and all good fruits." It is impossible to acquit the King of hypocrisy in professing great conscientiousness, whilst acting without scruple. He had no difficulty in appointing able men to fill offices, reward-

ing them with titles and lands, and, when they had served his purpose, confiscating the lands, and beheading the owners. At the same time, while he was a bad man, he was a great ruler, who could manage the people in a marvellous manner, now favouring one class, and then their opponents. He, moreover, caused the country to be considered by foreign rulers, through, it may be, wicked wars, and by the creation of the Royal Navy. He threw energy into government, and largely carried his people with him, except in regard to his vices. The desire to have a son to succeed him was not only natural, but would be greatly to the advantage of his people; but tampering with the laws of God, as written in nature, will not secure the good of man. While, however, the vice of lust was the worm that secretly ruined the character of Henry, it must not be assumed that he was great only in his vices, for his legislative measures largely affected our country for good. Let us mention a few.

Acts of Parliament.

1512. (1) The Act to deny the benefit of clergy to robbers and murderers, whereby the culprits screened themselves by appealing to the Pope or foreign authorities, was necessary to ensure common justice, and to prevent lawless scandals. For generations an evil practice had prevailed, that when a robbery, or murder, or other crime had been committed, the criminal fled to the nearest sanctuary, and could then defy the law; and if the criminal could read, he could claim the benefit of clergy, and be transferred to the church courts, where justice, if administered, was often in a milder form.

1532. These evils were only partially remedied in the previous reign. (2) The daily conveyance of large sums of money out of the Kingdom to Rome, and elsewhere, called "annates," "first fruits," and other fees, mentioned as having amounted since Henry VII. "to eight score thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums," greatly impoverished the realm, and was

1533. justly forbidden. (3) The practice of appeals to Rome in regard to all kinds of cases affecting matrimony and divorce, tithes and oblations, wills and other testamentary causes, and such like, involved great delays, costs, and other vexations and excommunications, not to be endured by a free people, and was therefore wisely

1534. prohibited. (4) The appointment by a foreign authority, or his subordinates, of bishops, priors, and all other kinds of ecclesiastics, was not only irritating, but

dangerous to the State, and injurious to the welfare of the people, and was justly stopped. (5) The Act of Supremacy, which declared the King "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England," was essentially mischievous, except as a complete cutting off of the power of Rome in this realm. (6) The Treasons Act, had it been applied reasonably to rebels, would have been just, but doubtless it became an

1536. engine of mischief. (7) The Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries declared that: "Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns . . . . . Their vicious living shamelessly increases, and augments, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infected that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostacy than to conform themselves to the observation of good religion," etc. It admits that "divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep." It gave the King power to appropriate the property of all monasteries having an income of less than £200 a year. The Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries followed four years later. In 1539, the *Lex Regia* was passed, authorizing royal proclamations, and giving force to the same being concurred in by the King's principal ministers. This was probably intended to give increased power for persecuting heresy. The

1539. Six Articles Act was a reactionary measure, passed to please the Catholic party in opposition to the Reformation doctrines, and shows that although the King had quarrelled with Rome, it had reference to ecclesiastical matters only, and not to doctrines, for the King lived and died a Catholic at heart. It declares, 1, The doctrine of Transubstantiation; 2, Communion in both kinds is unnecessary; 3, Priests by the laws of God may not marry; 4, Vows of chastity or widowhood must be observed; 5, Private masses must be continued; 6, Auricular confession is necessary. Anybody saying the contrary is to be burned, and forfeit all possessions. Persons abstaining from confession and the Sacrament are to be fined and imprisoned, and suffer pains of death and forfeiture, and heretical books are to be burned.

Parliamentary Zeal.

The Parliament that met in 1529, in seven years passed not only the foregoing Acts (excluding those last-named), but many others of a far-reaching character, designed to enforce the doctrine that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England," defining the Articles of religious belief, dispersing the monasteries, increasing the power of the King, repeatedly settling the succession to the throne, and, at the opposite end of the social scale, suppressing begging. Never before had Parliament attempted to deal with so many and so great questions vitally affecting the welfare of the nation. These Acts may be taken as expressing the will of the King. Indeed, he not only concerned himself with what Parliament did, but largely interfered with those of whom the Parliament consisted; thus he is said to have been occupied with the choice of candidates for the Shires of Nottingham and Derby, as well as several other places. Doubtless many of the Members of Parliament were dependent on the King, but in one respect they represented the people, and that is in hatred of the priests, who had become to a large extent negligent, indolent in spiritual matters, pleasure-loving, exacting, and covetous, seeking not so much the good of the people as the advancement of their own Order. There was no question of altering the doctrines of religion; both King and Parliament and people were Catholics, but they wished to have deliverance from Roman rule.

In King Henry's handwriting is a memo. of an intended Act. "Forasmuch as it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which hath been used among all sort which have borne the name of religious folk and to the intent that hereafter many of them might be turned to better use (as hereafter shall follow) whereby God's Word might the better be set forth Children brought up in learning Clerics nourished in the Universities Old Servants decayed having livings Almhouses for poor folks to be sustained in Readers of Greek, Hebrew and Latin to have good stipends Daily alms to be administered:—
Mending of highways
Exhibitions for ministers of the Church
More bishopricks Collegiate and Cathedral Churches should be established instead of these foresaid religious houses."

Under the head of "Bishopricks to be new made," the King wrote among various other Counties, "Notts. and Derby —Welbeck, Worksop, and Thurgarton."

Six new Bishoprics were created out of the ruins of the Monastic Houses—Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough, but the first was shortly afterwards dissolved.

Now let us look at the King's principal Ministers.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MONASTERIES—Continued.

WOLSEY AND CROMWELL.

Cardinal Wolsey. Cardinal Wolsey was a man of great energy, a hard worker, exceedingly ambitious, and ready to pay, or to threaten, in order to obtain promotion. He rapidly became Dean, then Bishop, of Lincoln, Archbishop of York, Cardinal, Lord Chancellor, and Papal Legate. He was in receipt of the revenue of several deaneries, and of the bishoprics filled by Italians. While the King was attending to music parties, and hunting, Wolsey was administering the affairs of the realm. He ruled (so said one of the foreign ambassadors) both King and Kingdom. He obtained from the Pope power to visit all the monasteries. Thus all temporal, and almost all spiritual powers, were vested in one man. He even aimed at becoming Pope, and was prepared, either by force or money, to carry out his ambitious scheme. In this, however, he failed. He now sought power from the Pope for the suppression of certain monasteries, with a view to building a college at Oxford, one reason assigned being that there were many religious houses in England where the inmates had diminished to five or six, and where on this account divine service could not be fittingly carried out.

Suppression. In the work of suppression, the two principal men that Wolsey employed were his chaplain, John Allen, LL.D., and Thomas Cromwell, both of them hard, unscrupulous men, cruel in carrying out their work, open to bribes and peculation. Each of them came to a bad end. The

King wrote Wolsey, disapproving of his methods. He obtained further powers from the Pope, "for the dissolving of certain monasteries, wherein much vice and wickedness was harboured." On November 14th, 1528, the Pope issued a Bull authorising the suppression of small monasteries, and uniting them to other houses. On June 4th, 1529, the Pope issued a further Bull, authorising the suppression of monasteries, their revenues to be devoted to the building of additional cathedrals. Wolsey's fall, however, prevented the exercise of the powers given, for he was impeached before the House of Lords. Articles, forty-four in number, laid grievous charges of misrepresentation, extortion, misappropriation, etc., against him, but George Cavendish tells us that Cromwell "inveighed (against the Bill) so discreetly, and with such witty persuasions and deep reasons, that the same Bill could there take no effect." Other charges were, however, afterwards brought, and it was thereupon decided that the Cardinal must go to his diocese of York, that had been so much neglected, for he had never even been installed.

Diocese of York.

George Cavendish, who was Gentleman Usher to the Cardinal, and was one of the ancestors of the Duke of Devonshire, tells us of the greatness, and glory, and ostentation, of the Cardinal, with "his household whereof the number was about the sum of five hundred persons." All this display was now laid aside, and with a small company they came to Newark, and lodged in the Castle all night, and the next day he rode to Southwell, and continued there most of the summer, "where he used much charity and pity among his poor tenants and others," residing in the Old Palace. His adversity apparently did him good, "for he was much more familiar among all persons than he was accustomed, and most gladdest when he had occasion to do them good." To avoid public display, he departed in the night to Welbeck, and thence through Worksop Park and Rufford Abbey to dinner, and thence to Blyth Abbey, and the next day to Scrooby, "which was another house of the bishopric of York," "where he continued until after Michaelmas, ministering many deeds of charity." "And thus, with other good deeds, practising and exercising during his abode there at Scrooby, as making of love days and agreements between party and party, being then at variance, he daily frequented himself there about such business and deeds of honest charity." He then passed on to Cawood, where he

was arrested on a charge of treason, and being brought back by way of Sheffield and Hardwick (that is in Kirkby-in-Ashfield) and Nottingham, to Leicester Abbey, where he died, exclaiming: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs!"

Let us now look at Wolsey's successor.

Thomas Cromwell. Thomas Cromwell was descended from a Nottinghamshire family. In 1461, John Cromwell, son of Wm. Cromwell, was described as late of Norwell, in Nottinghamshire, and it is said that nine years before he was granted a lease of a fulling mill at Wimbledon. "The family was well known, and well off (*Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, by R. G. Merriman), both John Cromwell's father, William, and his grandfather, Ralph, were persons of wealth and position there. John Cromwell's wife was the sister of Wm. Smyth, who also probably went from Norwell to Wimbledon. John had a son, Walter, who grew up as a brewer, smith, and fuller, in Putney, and became a quarrelsome and riotous character, breaking the assize of ale, selling bad beer, often charged with being drunk, 'overburthening' the common lands in Putney with cattle, falsely and fraudulently erasing the evidences and tenures of the lord," etc.

Thomas, son of the above, was born about 1485. He, by hard work, had pushed himself forward, acting as a common soldier, traveller, cloth merchant, wool dyer, solicitor, money lender, and turning his hand to whatever came in his way, he thus made money, and became a money lender on a large scale. He was, however, a hard man, fond of money, selfish, and untroubled with regard to the justice, or otherwise, of what he had in hand. He attracted the attention of Cardinal Wolsey by his energy, ability, and accuracy. He was therefore soon promoted, became a Member of Parliament in 1523, and two years later was one of the Commissioners appointed for the suppression of certain small monasteries, and earned the title of "the hammer of the monks." When Wolsey fell into disgrace, it is to Cromwell's credit that he worked hard to defend his former master; and when the latter fell, the King soon found Cromwell a place, and he gradually worked himself into the Monarch's confidence, for he declared he would make his new master the richest prince in Christendom, and the several Acts of Parliament from 1534 to 1539 were largely

promoted and secured through him. Many of the provisions in these measures were designed to remove gross abuses in the administration of Church appointments, levies, funds, etc., and to transfer the power to the King that had been exercised by the Pope, or his deputies. The Commons presented a petition to the King, which seems to have been promoted by Cromwell, which, while professing to be anxious for preventing heresy, proceeded to make grave charges against the bishops, such as that poor people were often maliciously summoned before the church courts, and put to great expense and excessive fees; that young men under age were appointed to benefices; and, among other matters, it complained of the number of Church holidays. It was, therefore, determined to lessen the power of Convocation.

The visitations, as they were called, by the bishops to the monasteries were regarded as pompous processions, rather than reforming and remedial works; so it was decided that laymen should be entrusted with the work, and in 1535, Thomas Cromwell, who had become Chief Secretary and Master of the Rolls, was appointed as Vicar-General and Vicegerent of the King, for the purpose of visiting all the churches, monasteries, and collegiate bodies in the Kingdom, and for exercising all ecclesiastical jurisdiction vested in the King. He was already a Privy Councillor, and had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State, and Master of the Rolls; and after this he became Lord of the Privy Seal, was made Baron Cromwell of Oakham, Knight of the Garter, Dean of Wells, Lord Great Chamberlain, and finally, Earl of Essex. "He had," says Professor Brewer, "engrossed in his own hands powers such as no subject and no Sovereign in this country had ever possessed before, or will ever possess again." The vast power and influence thus obtained, he used in such manner as to secure the hatred of nearly all with whom he came in contact. He bribed, or bullied, or imprisoned, or crushed, or executed whom he would, and at the same time took bribes, extorted moneys, misappropriated public funds, and amassed a fortune out of the monasteries. "He confiscated the revenues of the Knights of St. John, drew a subsidy of four shillings in the pound from the clergy, and four-fifteenths and two subsidies from the temporality, and all with such rigour and expedition, that before the Whitsuntide holiday (1540) the King, according to one calculation, was enabled to pocket £3,000,000." (H. A. S. Fisher, p. 442.)

On April 17th, the reward of the Earldom was conferred. On June 10th, he was apprehended, charged with treason, and was, of course, condemned, and his property confiscated to the King. He wrote to the King: "Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highnesses most miserable prisoner and poor Slave Thomas Cromwell—Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." He had shown no mercy to others, and none was shown to him. On July 28th, he was beheaded at Tyburn, protesting that he died in the Catholic faith. "The mills of God" had ground slowly, but they ground "exceeding small."

His Policy. One cannot help but feel surprise at the religiousness always professed by Cromwell. The fact is, that religion with him was a card to be played, or tool to be used. If he professed Protestantism, it was not from conviction, but for the purposes of statecraft. Independence of Rome was a policy that would pay, and would please the King and Parliament, and so was followed.

It should be mentioned to his credit, that in 1538, he ordered the clergy to keep Parish Registers of births, deaths, and marriages, to which they were opposed, but great good has resulted therefrom.

A Teacher. Cromwell, in sending the Royal Injunction to curates concerning the method and manner of expounding the Bible, says: "Where it hathe pleased the kinges Maiestie, oure most dradde sovereigne lord and Supreme Hed vnder God of this Churche of England, for A Declaratyon of the greate zeale he bereth to the setting furthe of Goddes woorde, and to the vertuouse mayntenaunce of his commenwealthe, to permyt and commaunde the Bible being translated into our mother tongue, to be syncerely taught and declared by vs the Curates, and to bee openly layed furthe in euery parrishe Churche," etc. "You shall haue allwayes in your Rememberaunce and memoryes that all thinges conteyned in this booke is the vndoubted wyll, lawe and commaundement of almightie god thronely and streight meane to knowe the goodnes and benefytes of god towardes vs, and the true dieutye of euery christien man to serue him accordingly," etc. He then warns them against "geving to moche to your owne myndes fantazies and opinions nor having thereof any open reasonyng in your open Tauernes or

Ale-howses, ye shall haue recourse to suche lerned men as be or shal be auctorised to preache and declare the same," etc. "to the edefying of himself his wief and famylye in all thinges." One feels, in reading the injunction, that it requires no effort to stand as a guide-post, but it is another thing to be a travelling companion. See *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, by R. B. Merriman, No. 266.

His Will. His will, dated 12th July, 1529, says: "Furste I bequethe my Sowle to the grete god of heuen, my maker Creatour, and Redemer, beseching the most gloryous virgyn, our blessed ladie, Saynct Mary the vyrgyn and Mother with all the holie companye of heuen to be Medyatours and Intercessours for me to the holie trynytee So that I may be able when it shall please Almightie god to call me out of this miserable worlde and transitorie lif to inherite the kingdome of heuen amongst the nomber of good christen people," etc. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES.

We are now in a position to look at the Monasteries, the ruins of whose buildings we behold around us. In addition to Lenton and Blyth, already mentioned, there were Monasteries or religious houses at the following places; In Nottingham the Grey Friars, the Carmelite Friars, and the Brethren of St. John had houses; In the County, were at Beauvale (Greasley), Felley, Newark, Newstead, Rufford, Shelford, Thurgarton, Welbeck and Worksop, there were Monasteries or other forms of religious houses; while at Brodholme, Mattersey and Wallingwells were Nunneries, now all of which have disappeared. Even the site of some of them is unknown. One has become a ducal palace, another a lordly domain, many of them are Squire's halls, some have become farm buildings, and others are in ruins. Why? They were located in beautiful places. Hill and dale, wood and water, fish and fowl, health and quietness were their surroundings, or were connected with them,—but they are gone, never to

return. Why? Some of the Monasteries were in the hands of foreign ecclesiastics. Many of those in Nottinghamshire, as elsewhere, were built or endowed by Norman Barons. Their gifts of tithes, or estates, were often given to the Monasteries of the places from which they came, large sums being collected from rents, tithes, and offerings, and sent out of the country, to the impoverishment of the people. When wars with France arose the ecclesiastical moneys were repeatedly appropriated by succeeding Kings, and there was the further danger that the Monks were suspected of acting as spies. In 1414 one hundred and forty foreign Monasteries were dissolved, but the property was devoted to other Church purposes. Many Priories were suppressed, about 1437, for the building of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and Winchester School. These precedents were repeatedly followed.

The Object. The object of the Monasteries was good. In the world was violence and war, wickedness and wrong, and the monks wanted quietness, meditation and prayer; they desired to cultivate a love of knowledge, and to write books. They sent out the men to build our Cathedrals and Churches, for the monks were sometimes masons, and sometimes architects, who did their work well, without regard to time or reward. Those houses were for the accommodation of travellers, who were always welcomed; and for the relief of the poor and destitute, who were never turned away. Some of the buildings were used as schools for the instruction of children, or of students who were afterwards sent out as missionaries, or preachers, or priests, or for the relief of plague-stricken people who had neither medical or nursing help—but they are gone for ever. Why? Ah! it is the old tale. While the inmates were poor and hard-working they were well. they did good, but fulness of bread ruined them. They could not stand prosperity; they became indolent and fat, occupied in looking after their property, or their stomachs. It is not necessary to believe all the charges of wickedness and wantonness that in the Acts of Parliament were laid against them. Their very wealth and uselessness was sufficient to make them objects of attack. It was not good that so much of the land—said to be one-fifth or one-sixth, but some say one-third—should be in the hands of men calling themselves "the Church." For so much land to be in the hands of a maintained community lessened the energy, enterprise and social development of the people. These lands so devoted took them

out of the families who had cultivated them, and who, by such appropriation, were impoverished.

A Blunder. The fact is, the whole system was a huge blunder. God has set us in families, not communities. The development of the family ideal is according to God's order, the law of nature, the security of the state. Men and women are made to marry, not to separate themselves into solitary confinement. The law and habit of nature is work. Prayer helps the work, but must not supercede it. God loves His children a million times more than we do, and does not need to be constantly persuaded by reiterated appeals to bless them. Talking to God, and communion with God, is a habit as easily acquired and practised in the market place, the farm, the factory, the kitchen, as in the cell.* Withdrawal from the world is best secured by going into it,—not for the purpose of gain, or pleasure, or power, but for the purpose of doing good. Self-sacrifice for the good of others is the best form of fasting:

> "He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all."—*Coleridge.*

The relief of the able-bodied poor is best secured, not by indiscriminate charity doles, but by finding work for them and training them in habits of self-reliance and effort; and so right through the chapter, while for the helpless poor organized arrangements and almshouses are best. Separation from evil is in spirit, in motive, in purity of heart, not in shutting up the body. Monks went into retired, quiet buildings; our Lord went out, and about, doing good.

One cannot but think that a large portion of these lands—which for Nottinghamshire, taken at one-sixth, would amount to 88,000 acres—was given under a misunderstanding (I hope I need not say a misrepresentation) of God's provision for man's salvation. There would be a vast difference in the mind of a man smitten with disease and face to face with death, in the following positions:—

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* *The Practice of the Presence of God*, by Brother Lawrence. London, H. R. Allenson Ltd., Fleet Street, price 6d., is a helpful booklet on this subject.

A man's fears as felt.	*God's provision as revealed.*
"I have to meet an angry God, against whom I have sinned. I shall be punished although these sins have been confessed to the priest, and absolution granted a hundred times. Holy Church is the depository of salvation, and she teaches that if I will give my lands she will set men every day to pray to God to deliver me from hell, and out of purgatory. I hope God will regard my gifts as meritorious, and grant me and mine salvation."	God is my Father. He loves me, cares for me, will save me. He has said, "I will heal their backslidings. I will love them freely, for Mine anger is turned away." "Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow." My Lord Jesus Christ "loved me and gave Himself for me." "His blood cleanses me from all sin." I have been redeemed. I am not my own. I will first give my own self to the Lord, and then according to my power prove the sincerity of my love, by remembering the poor.

"Look on this picture— and on this!"

It may at once be conceded that the first position would be likely to yield more money than the second; but is the great object of the Church to get money? How much money did the Founder of Christianity obtain when He declared that He had not where to lay His head? Where were the invested funds of the Apostles who were told to take not even a purse on their missionary journeys? How much did the Apostle obtain when he said, "We seek not yours, but you?" The fact is the Kingdom of God is built up not with money, but with personal service, with large-hearted self-sacrifice. Money is not to be despised, but when it becomes the object sought, or the power relied on, the Church may say with the Apostle, "Thy money perish with thee."

Destruction. The destruction of the monasteries having been determined, was carried out by short and sharp work. Commissioners were appointed for each County; an inventory was taken of all the money, furniture, plate, jewels, books, treasures, cattle, implements, etc.; the estate—that is, the lands, houses, tythes, and other property—was surrendered or confiscated to the King; the inmates were dismissed, and sent to their friends where practicable, and

where otherwise, a pension was granted them, many of them being old, infirm, and friendless. Loose articles were sold at such a price as could be obtained, but many articles disappeared, for there sprang up a general system of pillage. The Commissioners had the lead stripped off the buildings, and where practicable, it was sent by boat to London; thereupon, one man walked off with a door, another with a window, and so on, with anything that was portable. The building then served for generations as a kind of quarry, from which stone could be carted for farm houses and buildings. There is preserved in the parish books at Bawtry a petition from the inhabitants of that town, sent to Lord Castleton in 1712, asking for stone to build their own tower. The following is an extract from this petition: "And your Lordship being the owner of the late ruinous Abby called Roach Abby, and we being well informed that your Lordship hath formerly very nobly and generously given part of the stone of the said Abby to the townes of East Retford and Babworth and others in their neighbourhood towards the repair of their Churches and Steeples wee therefore," etc. There was much wilful destruction by the men locally employed under Cromwell's authority, as they are said to have entered the convents, and broken down the altars to get the gold and silver; to have torn off the covers of the manuscript books, some of which had taken years to illuminate; they tore up the lead, plucked up the seats, and took down the bells. If the monks were obstinate, and refused to surrender the monasteries and their lands, and to take the oath acknowledging the supremacy of the King and severance from Rome, then they were imprisoned, racked, strangled, perished in prison from filth and starvation, or were burnt, or otherwise executed. The lands were then granted by the King to peers, government servants, local landowners, and others, some as gifts for services rendered or to be obtained, some as sales. Among the largest grantees were the following peers: Norfolk, Rutland, Shrewsbury, Clinton, etc., the whole numbering about one thousand persons. who paid £779,200. (Dr. Alex Savine, quoted in *H. A. Fisher.*) The Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations accounted for a total of receipts from the

Monasteries of	£1,338,442	9	2½
And of Disbursements of	£1,229,042	14	11¾
Balance	£109,399	14	2¾

LENTON PRIORY FONT.

Photo by Mr. Guilford.

BLYTH CHURCH.

By permission of Mr. H. F. Hind, Blyth.

The disbursements included pensions, plate handed to the King, war expenses, naval matters, coast fortifications, royal palaces, royal household expenses, etc. Putting the value of the money then at a twelfth of the present value, according to the estimate of Abbot Gasquet in *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, between fourteen and fifteen millions sterling of the present money was the actual cash value of the work of dissolution by the King. (p. 427.) Other estimates largely exceed this sum, but Abbot Gasquet is a very painstaking and reliable writer.

"Nor deem the irrevocable past
As wholly wasted, wholly vain,
If rising on its wrecks at last
To something nobler we attain."—*Longfellow.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES—Continued.

LENTON.

Lenton Priory.

We will now look at some of our local buildings, or ruins, or their circumstances.

Let us take a walk to Gregory Street, Old Lenton, and there we shall see a small Church, which apparently has been rebuilt upon an old foundation, and in the walls there are a few peculiar stones, that have evidently formed part of an older building. In the Churchyard there are a few grave stones, shaded by trees, and surrounded by walls. As we look around at the adjacent cottages, it is difficult to realize that we stand on the site of the once most famous and richest Monastery in the County, and still more does it require a stretch of the imagination as we look at that filthy stream close by, to see there the river that once was justly called "the silvery Leen," and which was diverted, probably for the use of Nottingham Castle, by the Conqueror, or his successors, but the old course formed the boundary of Sherwood Forest. If, however, we go up to the Hollinwell Golf Links, we shall

there see the pure water flowing out of the red sandstone rocks, and shortly it

> "Precipitated from the lake
> Doth cataract of silver make,"

and following down, we may see the remains of ten or twelve mills, chiefly "my lord's mills," that in ancient times ground the vassals' corn, the first being connected with the Priory of Newstead, and the one behind Lenton Railway Station, with the Priory of Lenton. Now we want to shut out of sight those cottages, and imagine a grand building standing there; and we should first try to realize the loveliness of the site, as it was when William de Peverel chose it, flanked by the Highfield Hills on the west; the Park Hills, and his castle, on the east; the hills of Clifton in front, and at such an angle that there were extensive views up and down the Trent Valley, with plenty of fishing, and good water, and Sherwood Forest close at hand. We must remember that the man who built and endowed the Priory was no ordinary man, but the greatest man in the district; lord of one hundred and sixty-two manors; that its property exceeded that of any other monastery in the County, and that it was settled to follow the Benedictine rule, as required by the parent home at Clugny, in Burgundy, whose churches were noted for their magnificence.

The Buildings. There would be, beside the Church, a Lady Chapel, several smaller Chapels, a Chapter House for public business (which may have been, like Southwell, richly adorned), reception rooms, withdrawing rooms, a refectory or dining room, kitchens, larders, cellars, dormitories or chambers for sleeping, workshops for carvers, goldsmiths, butchers, bakers, tailors, cobblers, brewhouse, and with cloisters round a quadrangle for meditation and quietness, a library or reading room, with outside rooms for guests, and for relieving the poor, etc., the whole forming a vast establishment, and having still further, granaries, stables, and all the requisites for a farm and hostelry, a court house for justice, and prison for punishment. Then, if we remember there were large revenues, which increased year by year, as men gave their lands to God, and the Church of the Holy Trinity at Lenton, and the monks there serving God, for the health of their souls. No wonder that the Prior was able to entertain Kings; Edward I. and Edward II., for instance. King John endowed the Priory with the tenth of all his venison in the Counties of Nottingham and Derby. In 1279,

the Prior of Lenton was one of the Inspectors of the English Clungiac Monasteries, and on September 18th, 1279, reported on Pontefract Monastery.

Preparation. As the time for the Dissolution of the Monasteries drew near, the movable articles began to disappear. A monk named Dan Hamlet Peneriche fled from Lenton Monastery several times, the last time carrying away goods belonging to the house, for which he was lodged in Fleet Street prison. In 1536, Nicholas Heyth, the prior, wrote that his predecessor had left the house much in debt, and although he had promised Cromwell, through his nephew Richard, £100, he was then able to pay only £60; he hoped the rest might stand over till Martinmas, or otherwise he would have to borrow in London of some merchant to keep up hospitality. "I beseech you," he adds, "I may have your favour concerning two young men in our religion at Lenton. All my brethren, except four or five, are very impotent and of great age, and request your favour that they may continue in their religion."—*Abbot Gasquet.*

"On the 29th June, 1536, the prior is said to have committed some act of treason against the King"—perhaps sold some monastery plate to relieve their needs—and "Godberry, a London goldsmith, who purchased it, was forced by Cromwell to refund £20 to his private purse"; or probably, he was involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion, like the Vicar of Newark, who was executed for high treason.

In February, 1537-8, the prior was thrown into prison, when he, together with eight of his monks, and four labourers of Lenton, were indicted for treason at Nottingham Assizes. The prior, and William Gylham, monk, four labourers, and a priest were convicted, and after their names was entered the letters: "T. et S.—to be drawn and hanged." There was a tradition that the prior was hanged above the gateway of his priory; another suggestion is that he was hanged on Gallows Hill, and afterwards gibbeted at the priory. The Nottingham chamberlains accounts show that 2d. was paid to one Roys "whan the moanes of Lanton sofared dayet." An inquisition was held before Francis Merynge, Esquire, Escheator of the Counties of Nottingham and Derby, and the whole of the possessions of the priory were confiscated to the King.—*Godfrey.*

The Fair. The greatness and importance of the place may be judged by the fact that the great Fair of the priory was held for twelve days, and afterwards reduced to eight days, during which no markets were allowed to be held in Nottingham. No bread, fish, meat, or leather could be sold except in houses within doors and windows. No market bell was to be rung in Nottingham. To this fair came people from all parts of the country, with great attention to sports as well as to trade. The fair continued for nearly eight hundred years, and was abolished only a few years ago, except that a few horses are still shown in a field.

The Font. In Lenton Parish Church is the ancient font belonging to the Priory Church, its date being about 1100. It is one of the finest specimens in the country. Carved in stone are representations of cherubim and seraphim, and the Holy Ghost as a dove descending on Christ, whose hands are uplifted in prayer. On the south side is a representation of the Crucifixion; on the west side, of the Resurrection: on the north, an exceedingly decorated floreated cross, the groundwork having been painted in red and blue. The bowl, 30 x 26 x 18, is in quatrefoil form, and evidently intended for the practice of immersion.

In Mr. Godfrey's *History of Lenton* are given a number of illustrations of the masonry, caps of columns, specimens of encaustic tiles, etc. The bases of two columns may be seen in the garden attached to a coal-yard at the junction of Priory Street and Old Church Street. If these had been on the Continent they would have been guarded by railings, but in England we do not properly value antiquities. Two bases have disappeared. The carved Norman work on the altar steps in the Priory Church should be noticed.

The Roof. An enormous quantity of lead was stripped from the roof of the Priory Church, and 198 fodders (practically tons) were removed to Nottingham Castle for safe custody. When the time came for it to be sent by barge down the Trent to the Tower in London, it was the business of John Pottes, the porter at the Castle, to see it safely carted from the Castle to the water side, to be delivered to William Hever, but Hever declared that only 160 tons were so delivered. It became the business of William Bolles, the Receiver-General of the County, to clear up where the 38 tons had gone. Bolles wrote an account of the questions he put to Pottes, and he

says: "Although he is a witty man he dissymulated a great symplenes sayeinge he cowde not rede nor (?) no skill of such maters And had never sene so moche lead before And he had done the best he cowd," etc. "In my openyon," adds Bolles, "it shuld nowghter have byn delyvred nor yet receyved w'out waight."* We shall all agree with the last remark. Now whether that lead went down Mortimer's Hole, or whether Pottes left his cart outside the "Salutation," or other alehouse, and the lead was removed while he was refreshing himself, or whether it fell into one of the many cellars or caves they had to pass, no Sherlock Holmes has ever cleared up. For four hundred years Lenton Priory had been rich, and for many years the Town of Nottingham had been poor, and an Act of Parliament, passed in 1536, provided for forfeiture of ruined houses, unless within three, six, or nine years certain conditions were complied with. Many houses in the Town of Nottingham, and in other placed named, that "now are and of long Tyme have been in great Ruyne, and Decaye, and Specially in the pryncypal and cheif Stretes there beyng, in whiche cheif Stretes in Tymes passed have been bewtiful dwellyng Howses there well inhabited, whiche at this day moche Part thereof is desolate and yonde Groundes, with Pyttes Cellars and Vaultes lying open and onkovered very perillous for People to go by in Nyghte withoute Jeopardy of Lyf, which Decayes are to the great impoveryshyng and Hindrans of the Same Townes," etc. With great wealth on the one hand, little used, and such poverty on the other, there is little wonder at the possibility of both Pottes and Hever thinking that little thieves were no worse than big ones, for the influence of a bad example, especially in high places, is as infectious and contagious as fever and small pox.

It may be noted that there was in the Churchyard a Hospital of St. Anthony, for such persons as were troubled with what is called St. Anthony's Fire.

The Mill. The site of the prior's corn mill, where all the corn of the priory and of the parish was ground, may be seen in Radford Marsh, where the Leen makes a bend to the south-west. Some tooled stones in the doorway suggest reconstruction from the old priory, but the water wheel, like "Grandfather's Clock," has "Stopped short, never to go again."

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* See *Godfrey's History*, p. 218.

Peverel Prison. Within the grounds of the "White Hart" Inn, which were in Blackner's day (1795) "a kind of paradise," is the prison of the abolished Peverel Court, and which after disuse became the parochial "lock-up." Blackner gives a pathetic account of a poor prisoner confined for a debt of 25/-, without fire, in February, and almost without food, clad in filthy rags, p. 105. It makes one exclaim, "Thank God the Court is abolished."

CHAPTER XXV.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES—Continued.

BLYTH.

Blyth. By a deed dated in 1088, Roger de Busli founded the Convent of Benedictines of St. Mary, on a site adjoining the river Ryton, and he built a church and house, a part of which stands to this day. His Castle of Tickhill was four miles away, and it may be that the river decided in his mind where the priory should be. The endowments were very considerable, consisting of lands at Blyth, Elton, Boughton, Barnby Moor, etc., with tithes in many of the parishes in the county, and in other counties, with fairs, markets, tolls, minerals, and all kinds of rights, including the right of hanging offenders, for it is said "The Prior of Blyth has gallows, tumbrill, pillory, infanthief, and assize of bread and ale." It was an alien monastery, subordinate to the Abbey connected with the Cathedral Church of St. Mary at Rouen, Normandy, the result being that when the King of England was at war with France jealousy was excited, and heavy contributions were laid on the alien priories. King Edward I. and King Edward III. many times stayed at the priory when travelling.

Tithes. We get an interesting side-light as to the obligations of villagers towards the monks and the priests, by a deed dated in 1287, between the Prior and the Vicar of Blyth. Differences had arisen as to their respective rights, and the vicar, "preferring the quiet of peace to the tortuous ways of contension"—so the deed says—consents to an apportionment as to tithes of sheaves, wool, lambs, hay,

and various other matters, and then proceeds: "The vicarage is to consist of * * * the tithes of pigs, chickens, geese, foals, calves, pidgeons, gardens, bees, apples, corn, and hay, of old inclosures, * * in the tithes of merchants, and hired servants, of flax, and hemp, in cerage (waxshot), in Lent eggs, *in albo* (that is, white silver, an antient personal tithe, levied upon the wages of all laboures and artificers, which were supposed to be paid in silver), in other small tithes and profits, and other offerings."—See the whole deed, in Raine's *History of Blythe*, p. 59.

1322, March 22nd, Thomas de Bonnetofte, a monk of Blyth, was sent to the court of Rome to be absolved for consecrating Christ's Body twice over—a very heinous offence. The culprit said that he did it ignorantly. On June 8, 1323, the Archbishop (Mellon) ordered Bruntoft to be expelled from Blyth for rebellion and insolence. There seems to have been great lack of discipline in Blyth Abbey (*Fasti Eboracensus*—White). On September 8th, 1379, an Inquisition was held at Nottingham, before a Baron of the Exchequer, and a jury, with regard to the income and expenses of this monastery. It is unnecessary to go into details, but several items of interest occur. Their land is let at 6d. per acre on the common, and meadow 1/6 per acre. Two water mills bring in a rental of £1 each; fishing, 6/8; tolls, perquisites, &c., on market days, £60. 120 days works in harvest (from poor tenants) in reaping the prior's crops brings in £1; a pair of gloves for rent, 2d. At Boughton (where the Nottingham Water Pumping Station now is) a messuage, 101 acres of land, and 5 of meadow, bring in £1, which would seem to imply that the tenant had a good bargain. The expenses are given in detail. The expenses of hospitality yearly cost £10; £27 10s. 0d. for the sustentation of the prior and his attendants, with £16 for travelling, and £17 a year for repairs. The daily routine required that at sunrise, midday, sunset, and midnight there should be prayers.

The Church. The convent and the parish each had their own chancels, and although very greatly reduced in size, parts of the old Norman church, and of the people's church, erected at a later date, now form one building, with a tower of great beauty When the Archbishops of York were residing at Scrooby, four miles away, they used the Blyth Church for Ordinations, and other purposes where large space was wanted. The Church has been terribly mutilated;

the transept and choir, terminating in an aspe, have been destroyed.

At its suppression in 1535 the income of the priory was returned as £126 8s. 2½d., and reprisals £13 7s. 6d. On July 3rd, 1543, the site and demesnes were granted to Richard Andrews and William Ramsden, who were among the chief monastic stock-jobbers of the day.—*Raine.*

The present Blyth Hall stands on the site of the old buildings, and the pleasure grounds include the site of the part of the church that was pulled down. The east end of the present church is a strange looking wall, being part of the tower of the original building. The effect is striking, but sad.

The School. The parish school of Blyth is an interesting building, which Mr. Raine inclines to think formed a portion of the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist, for human remains in considerable abundance, with stone coffins, have been found near it, and the doorway has some remarkable architectural features of precisely the age of King John, when the hospital was founded. Mr. Raine, after investigation, arrives at the conclusion that the ancient landed possessions of the Hospital amounted to nearly 700 acres. The building stands on an artificial mound of considerable size, and being by the side of a Roman highway, Mr. W. Stevenson suggests that it was the original cemetery for pagan interments.

The Village. The present appearance of the village is very interesting; the village street is doubtless the former market place. At one end is the approach to the church-yard, through a green, slightly enclosed, and adorned with trees; at the other end is an oval green, on an elevated mound, in the centre of which stands the school, shaded on each side by big trees. In front of the cottages there has been taken out of the footpath one or two feet of ground, which is cultivated as flower gardens, and Mrs. Willey, the wife of Major Willey, the principal owner in the Parish, offers yearly prizes, to be divided among those cottagers who cultivate the best "front." The effect is very pleasing. Would that in every village flowers could be grown in the public street!

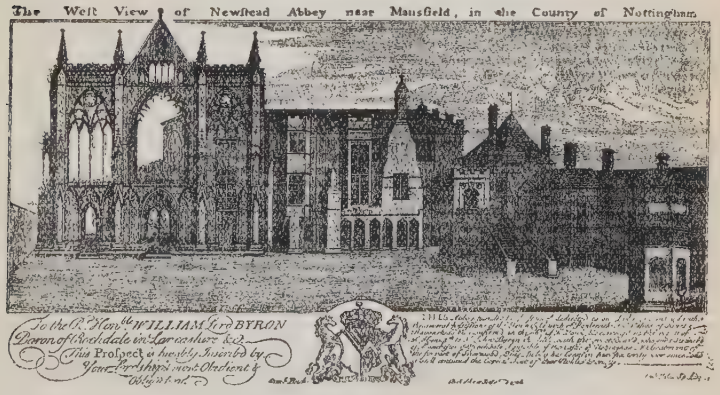
> "And he is happiest who hath power
> To gather wisdom from a flower."—*Wordsworth.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES—Continued.

NEWSTEAD AND BEAUVALE.

Newstead. Newstead was a Royal Manor, being part of the great Sherwood Forest, which belonged to the King. It was peculiarly the Monastery of the Forest, and owing to its royal foundation and endowment, the earlier monarchs often resorted thither. Thus, in 1280, Edward I., with Queen Eleanor, was there.


The West View of Newstead Abbey near Mansfield, in the County of Nottingham
To the R. Hon.ble WILLIAM Lord BYRON
Baron of Rochdale in Lancashire &c.
This Prospect is humbly Inscribed by
Your Lordships most Obedient &

From an Engraving in the possession of C. F. Elliott Smith, Esq.

The promise of Henry II. to go a three years crusade was commuted into the foundation of three religious houses, two away from our County, and one at Newstead, in Sherwood, for Austin Canons. Henry I. had made a previous endowment, as "Our grandfather" in the charter shows. Henry II. removed the foundation from the old to the new-stead.

Henry II., in his original charter, gave "to God & St. Mary the place which I have founded in Schirwode * * free and acquit of Geld and Danegeld of aids and wapentakes of scites and murders of scruage and summons and taxes on special occasions and of all land service and secular exactions";

and this he gave for the benefit of, not only the soul of his father and himself, but also for all his faithful subjects; so that we, their descendants, are interested. The foundation was an expiatory act, to atone for the murder of Archbishop Becket, although the King said he "was not privie to it, but that those malefactors tooke occasion to kill him by certaine words which the King in his anger inadvisably spake." There was prevalent under the Normans the belief that the guilt of moral offences would be atoned for by the building of monastic institutions, which the poor and defenceless hailed as being refuges from the terrible troubles then prevailing. In the eighteen years of Stephen's troublous reign, one hundred and forty-six religious houses were founded, and in Henry II.'s reign one hundred and sixty-three in thirty-four years. The completion of the King's expiation was the receiving of eighty lashes in Canterbury Cathedral, in addition to the penance at Avranches. One reason for Becket's popularity with the people may have been that he was a Saxon, and the first Saxon under the Normans raised to such a dignity. In 1501. Newstead is in a charter called New Place.

The Dole. In 1514, the Newstead Dole—£4 per annum, for King Henry's soul—was distributed at the convent gates. Fourteen loaves and seven flagons of ale were given weekly, and each day flesh and fish sufficient for one poor man; but the refectory table was open at dinner to all comers without stint or reserve. No questions were asked.

In January, 1536-7, Newstead would, as one of the smaller monasteries, have been suppressed, but it obtained a licence of exemption on payment of £233 6s. 8d.

In 1539, Layton, the King's Commissioner, held an Enquiry, with the result that the dissolution was brought about on 21st July, 1540, the Abbey and lands in the greater part of Hucknall parish passing into the hands of Sir John Byron for a little over £800.

Dr. London. Dr. Johan London, 1540, the King's Visitor, writes to Cromwell, his master: "I receyved a commission for the charter house in Notingam shyer callyd Bowvale and for a house of Chanons callyd Newstede. Of Bouvale Sir Johan Hussey hathe the custodi and Sir Johan Beryn of Newstede. We found the Prior of the charterhouse in hys shorte gowen & velvytt cappe, redy for our comyng—and the procter of that howse (Newstede) in lyke apparell, the

next day following I think it were harde to geve, so many agen into those howseys I have been att, as I have dispacchyd, ffor in every howse as well of men as off women, they be in maner all gon that nygt I have taken their surrendre, and streightway in new apparell. Now I have done in all these howseys according to the Kinges higness commissions, and shall be at all owors redy, to the best of my litell power to do such further service as may lye in me according to my most bounden dewtiè by y helpe of almygtie Jhesus, who with increse of moche honour long preserve your goode lordeshyppe Oxon xxvjj Julü.

Your most bounden oratour & servant,
Johan London."

Pensions. At the surrender, annuities were granted to eleven persons, and pensions to seven others. The sum allotted in annuities was £22 1s. 8d.; in pensions, £56 1s. 8d.; total, £78 3s. 4d. The pensions ceased upon promotion to a benefice. The net income of Newstead Abbey property taken was £167 16s. 11d. Attached to the grant there was usually a contribution, and an undertaking to keep residence and to show hospitality. There was also some patronage, with obligations; thus, Calverton Church chancel is still reparable by Newstead Abbey.

Byron. Lord Byron, the poet, moralises thus:

"One holy Henry reared the gothic walls,
And bade the pious inmates rest in peace;
Another Henry the kind gift recalls,
And bids devotion's hallowed echoes cease."

In his elegy on Newstead Abbey, Lord Byron touchingly refers to its then present condition:

"Newstead! what saddening scene of change is thine!
Thy yawning arch betokens sure decay;
The last and youngest of a noble line
Now holds thy mouldering turrets in his sway."

The present owner carefully preserves all that is possible that tells of priory days, and the rooms and relics of the poet, with the very furniture that he used. It is very gratifying when an owner realizes and responds to the desire that such treasures should be regarded as a trust.

Now. With regard to the present building. The alleys of the cloister are still preserved, and form communications to the different parts of the house; the chapter-house, now used as a chapel, is a beautiful structure, entered by a fine lofty early English doorway; the west end of the church is still preserved, having a large principal window, which appears in nearly all the pictures of the Abbey, and which shows how beautiful the building must have been.

The eagle reading desk, which now stands in the choir of Southwell Cathedral, originally belonged to Newstead Abbey. About the middle of eighteenth century, it was found in the bed of the lake in the Abbey grounds, and in the hollow boss on which the eagle stands were certain deeds relating to the Abbey. Apparently on the dissolution it had been thrown into the lake for security. In 1776, it was sold to a watchmaker at Nottingham, from whom it was bought by Sir Richard Kaye, Rector of Kirkby, and given to the Collegiate Church at Southwell.

Kirkby Hardwick. Mr. Spencer Hall, in his *Rambles in the Country*, has an interesting chapter on the Hardwick—the Herd-wick—the place of the herd, when the possessions of Newstead Abbey extended far beyond the semi-circle of the wild grey uplands of the Robin Hood's Hills, and on the other, or northern side, it was deemed expedient for the more profitable occupation of the lands, the grazing of the cattle, and the better accommodation of such of the brotherhood as had to perform religious duties at the more distant villages, to have a wick, or place of residence there, as an output and dependency of Newstead, the spot chosen being near to the place where the two streams of Erewash and Man, or Maun, flowed from one mere in opposite directions, forming the division line of two parishes, and the limit of Sherwood Forest. There a mansion, and a church, were built, and a fish-pond formed, which served their purposes until the dissolution, when Hardwick was sold to a private gentleman.

A period of neglect followed, and the painted glass of the chapel windows was broken, or hung in shattered casements, the mutilated images of eleven saints lay scattered, the altar and the crucifix were dilapidated, and ivy grew in at the damp walls. He then gives a description of a mysterious stranger of tall, dignified, patriarchal figure, with hair of the whiteness of a hundred winters, who, three-quarters of a century after

OLD ROCK HOUSES, MANSFIELD.

Photo by Mr. G. S. Ellis.

NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

the dissolution, once a week paid a visit to the ruined chapel, staying one hour, prostrated in fervent devotion before the broken crucifix. He evidently carried the weight of many sorrows. The household were forbidden by their master to ask any questions, or to make any remarks; and so the old man continued until the last visit was made, and the weary pilgrimage ceased.

It was here that Cardinal Wolsey stayed a night on his last sad pilgrimage, three days before his death.

I am indebted for much of the foregoing information to the Rev. R. H. Whitworth, Vicar of Blidworth, and Chaplain of Newstead.

Beauvale. Let us now take a walk from Nottingham to Beauvale, or the beautiful valley. We have eight miles to go, and pass on the way by the Church of Nuthall, by the Watnalls, and the Castle of Greasley, and when at what is now called Moor Green, we turn half a mile to the right, in full view of the lake or reservoir nestling at the foot of the surrounding hills.

Behind what is now a farmhouse, doubtless built out of the ruins, stood a fine monastery of the monks of the Carthusian Order. The monks of this Order differed from the others in this respect: that each man had his own private apartment, living like hermits, seldom meeting, their food being passed through a small window in the wall. Of this monastery, in 1535, Robert Lawrence was prior, in succession to John Houghton, who had been transferred to be the head of the London Charterhouse Priory. Houghton, together with Augustine Webster, Prior of Axholme, in Lincolnshire, and Richard Reynolds, went to see Cromwell. They declared their loyalty to the King, but that they could not take the King as Supreme Head of the Church, and when the Oath was, on April 26th, 1535, in the Tower tendered to them, they declined. They are said to have "maintained their cause most virtuously. No one being able to conquer them in argument, they were at last told that the Statute, being passed, they could not dispute it, and that if they would not alter their language they were remanded to the next day to hear the Sentence." Three days afterwards a verdict of guilty was declared, and they were sentenced to the traitor's

death. They were sent back to the Tower, and thence, on the 4th of May, 1535, to Tyburn, to be executed.

The Execution. Houghton, kneeling, recited a few verses of the 31st Psalm, and they thanked God that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth. "While they were still alive, the hangman cut out their hearts and bowels, and burnt them. They were beheaded and quartered, and the parts placed in public places on long spears. And it is believed that one saw the other's execution fully carried out before he died--a pitiful and strange spectacle, for it is long since persons have been known to die with greater constancy. No change was noticed in their colour, or tone of speech, and while the execution was going on they preach'd, and exhorted the bystanders with the greatest boldness to do well, and obey the King in everything that was not against the honour of God, or the Church. The Dukes of Richmond and Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and other lords and courtiers were present at the execution, and people said that the King himself would have been glad to witness the butchery." (Letters and papers, VIII., 661-666, quoted by H. A. S. Fisher.)

O Religion! What deeds of blood, what acts of hellish hate, have been done in thy name! Thy greatest grace is said to be like thy Author, love; for God is Love, but every devilish faculty that the human soul is capable of has been stirred to hunt, to kill, to destroy, the Godlike imitators of Him Who "was led as a Lamb to the slaughter!"

William Trafford, a monk from Beauvale, was made prior at Charterhouse in Houghton's place. He is said to have at first affirmed the Pope's supremacy, but to have afterwards changed and surrendered his monastery to the King, an annuity of £20 a year having been promised him.

A Respite. Three commissioners were appointed for each County to visit and inspect the monasteries. Sir John Markham and others went to Beauvale, and made an inventory of its value. It seems to have obtained a respite before its destruction, for it obtained a royal grant to remain undissolved, and there was on the 2nd January, 1537, a payment to the King of £166 13s. 4d., paid into the Court of Augmentations. Bleeding preceded killing.

The Prior of Beauvale had, in 1457, taken a lease of all the coal, and the right for digging for the same, in Selstone parish, and all wood growing there to make "punches and proppes," paying 13s. 4d. yearly as long as they obtain coal —as mentioned by Mr. Stapleton—but twenty years of the term were unexpired at the dissolution.

The Rev. R. Baron von Hube in his book on Greasley—*Griseleia in Snotinghamscire*—gives a copy of the foundation deed, whereby Nicholas de Canteloupe gave for the endowment of the priory great possessions in the "Towns of Gresly Selestom Watnowe Kynmarly and Newthorpe," and including "a great company of villains with the messuages and bovats of land, which they held in Watnowe with all their chattels, suits and sequels, and everything which belonged to them, or which they should acquire," etc. He also gave the natives or villains in Selston, "with all that were born of them and their suits and services of every description." Nicholas gave enormous possessions to God, and thereby showed his piety; but it seems so strange, according to our modern ideas, to give to God men, women, and children, and all that belonged to them, "for the glory of Almighty God, and the increase of religion."

CHAPTER XXVII.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES—Continued.

THURGARTON.

This priory was of the Augustinian Order, and late in the 14th century, Walter Hilton was the head of the house. Was he the author of the book called *The Imitation of Christ*, usually attributed to Thomas à Kempis? This is the question discussed at length by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency, B.A., LL.B., in a book written by him entitled *Thomas à Kempis: His age and book* (Methuen). Hilton appears to have been a man famed for his piety and learning. He was the author of many works, and among them one called *De Musica Ecclesiastica*, and another, *Scala Christianæ Perfectionis*, or "Ladder of Spiritual Perfection." of which it has been remarked "that the like stream of devotion with that in the book *De Imitation Christi*, runs his highly esteemed pious treatise," of which he was undoubtedly the author. He was

sometimes called Walter de Thurgarton. A manuscript translated by him, was said to have been done by "Maister Walter Hilton Chanon (Canon) and governairè of the House of Thurgarton biside Newark." He was a man famed for his devotional zeal. "A ful devoute man," he is called in the Cambridge 15th century MS. of the *Scala Perfectionis*. He was a follower of Rolle, a mystic, a layman—not a monk—who claimed to be wholly absorbed in the love of God, and to have a sense of spiritual happiness ineffable and divine, and his writings show a remarkable unity of ideas between him and the author of the *Imitation*. He is said to have been a Carthusian of Sheen, and afterwards a Doctor of Theology, and Canon of Thurgarton. It is suggested that he was Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford. *The Dictionary of National Biography* makes it clear that he was an Augustinian. He is said to have written as freely in English as in Latin. He died on the 25th March, 1395-6, when Thomas à Kempis was fifteen years of age, and the latter died 26th July, 1469, being over ninety years of age. The greatest English book-lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries were absolutely satisfied that Hilton was the author. "Among the list of Hilton's works there always occurs a work entitled *Ecclesiastica Musica*, which is identical with the first three books of the *Imitation*." Mr. Montmorency proceeds at length to discuss the rival claims to authorship, and regards the case as decided in favour of Thomas à Kempis, but leaves the question as a great mystery.

A Valued Book.

Is the question of the authorship of a book written four hundred and fifty or five hundred years ago of much importance? It must be remembered that no book, after the Holy Scriptures, has been so often re-printed, nor translated into so many languages, ancient and modern. Six thousand editions of the book are said, by *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, to have been issued. "In its pages," says Dean Milman, "is gathered all that is elevating, passionate, and profoundly pious in all the old Mystics. Mr. Gladstone wrote of it: "I always think Thomas à Kempis a golden book for all times, but most for times like these; for though it does not treat professedly of sorrow, it is such a wonderful exhibition of the Man of Sorrows." One great advantage of the book is that it is what Mr. Montmorency calls an "immortal claim for the free intercourse of man with God, and the spiritual necessity for the following of Christ."

Here are a few quotations from the first, second, or third books :—

"O, if men bestowed as much labour in the rooting out of vices, and the planting of virtues, as they do in the moving of questions, neither would so many evils be done nor so great scandals be given in the world."

"And he that followeth his appetite, he is presently disquieted with remorse of conscience; for that he hath yielded to his passion, which profiteth him nothing to the obtaining of the peace which he sought. True quietness of heart therefore is gotten by resisting our passions, not by obeying them."

"The only way that leads to life and a quiet conscience is the Way of Holy Cross where we die daily."

"Be not angry that you cannot make others as you wish them to be, since you cannot make yourself as you wish to be."

"If thou wilt carry the cross cheerfully it will carry thee"; and the counterpart of this is: "If thou wilt be carried, carry another."

The Mystics. These Mystics were of great service in our country to the cause of both God and man. They were to a considerable extent independent of Rome, that is, they cared nothing for honours, or power, or wealth; but they taught and lived the way of God, goodness, and perfection as the habit of their lives. They were, however, not absorbed in themselves, but promoted the instruction and edification of the people, especially of the poor, for they regarded every child, whatever his social condition, as a child of God, for whom the Saviour died, and who had, if rightly guided, the material of a cherub within him; and therefore it was not only their duty, but a pleasure to teach the people the elements of the Faith, the Sacraments, and Commandments. "Put on the new man and be changed into another man" was the startling message delivered to Groote in the Market Place at Cologne, and that influenced his life. Were we to speak and act as these old Mystics spake and acted, we should be regarded as sanctified humbugs; but they were genuine men, who lived and acted according to the highest ideals then known. We cannot imitate them; we have indeed a higher work to do. They vowed poverty, chastity, and obedience; but their poverty consisted in divesting themselves of their property,

and handing it to a community, to be held and used for the common good. We have to act upon a higher principle of holding all we have as belonging to God, to be used by us in simplicity of life and habit, and that we may give to others who are less favourably placed than ourselves. The chastity of a mother who, having brought up a family, and managed her household well, has still kept a pure heart and mind, is of a higher form than either the innocence of a young girl, or of a man whose time is spent out of the world, so called; and the obedience of a man who acts "as ever in his Great Taskmaster's eye," and whose whole desire is to please God in all the affairs of a busy, struggling life, is a higher form of service than that of a man whose duties become largely mechanical, through one continuous round.

"Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,
Who have faith in God and Nature,
Who believe that in all ages
Every human heart is human.
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearning, striving,
For the good they comprehend not.
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in the darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES—Continued.

BRODHOLME, RUFFORD, WORKSOP AND NEWARK.

Brodholme. *The Priory, or House of Nuns, of St. Mary of Brodholme, of the Order of Prémōntré,* is the title of a pamphlet by the Rev. R. E. G. Cole, M.A., Rector of Doddington Pigot, in which the author with great care and pains has brought together all that is known of the priory. The location is peculiar. Looking at the map of the county will be seen a singular projection, reaching to within five miles of the City of Lincoln itself. At the eastern extremity of this

projection is Brodholme, a hamlet of 640 acres, with a population of 90 persons, which hamlet is joined to Nottinghamshire by a narrow neck of land, not 400 yards wide, and connected ecclesiastically with the parish of Thorney, which it nowhere touches. The connection is however older than Domesday. To its Anglo-Danish settlers it presented itself as a broad-holme, or island of ancient river gravel, 22 feet above the present sea level, and in the troubled reign of Stephen, when the priory was founded, it presented itself as a suitable spot to those who wished to shut out the world. Hugh the White, a monk of Peterborough, who wrote about 1150, says, "The water makes a deep marsh and renders the land uninhabitable save on some raised spots of ground which I think God set up for the special purpose that they should be habitations of His servants who have chosen to dwell there." The spot was selected as a home for the first community of Premonstratensian Nuns in England in 1143-1146. The Order itself was founded by St. Norbert, who became Archbishop of Magdeburg, and built the first house at Prémontré in the Diocese of Laon, the first house for men being at Newsham, near to where Brocklesby Railway Station now is. The habit of the Nuns consisted of a white robe or habit, a long white cloak with a white veil and a whimple covering the neck. These garments were of wool, or undyed sheepskin, linen being prohibited, and also meat. Contrary to the practice of most nunneries it was not the custom for these nuns to sing in church or choir; they prayed and followed the offices of the church in silence. Priests, dwelling apart, were attached as chaplains to perform the services of the church, hear confessions, give religious instruction, as well as to aid in the temporal affairs of the Convent.

An event. The ordinary quiet of the house was rudely disturbed on January 15th, 1349-50, when Margaret de Everingham, one of the nuns, and presumably one of the knightly family of that name, settled at Laxton, was violently abducted or stolen by William Fox, parson of Lee, and several others. They took away her religious habit, and clothed her in a green gown of secular fashion, and took divers goods of the value of 40s. What was the motive? No one knows. Was Margaret a consenting party? Did one of the young fellows want her as his wife? We cannot tell. Fox retained his benefice at Lee for nearly forty-five years afterwards.

Queen Isabella, when dwelling at Nottingham Castle, interested herself much in the welfare of this institution. The details, though interesting, would take up more space than can be spared.

In the time of Wat Tyler, when there was great unrest among the labourers, and Lollardism was spreading, a number of men broke into the field of the monastery, felled the trees, depastured the corn, assaulted the servants, and threatened the nuns with death.

For four-hundred years, however, generally speaking the convent pursued its quiet work. We read of many gifts of lands for these churches, of tithes, &c., but there is no record of the work, or the prayers.

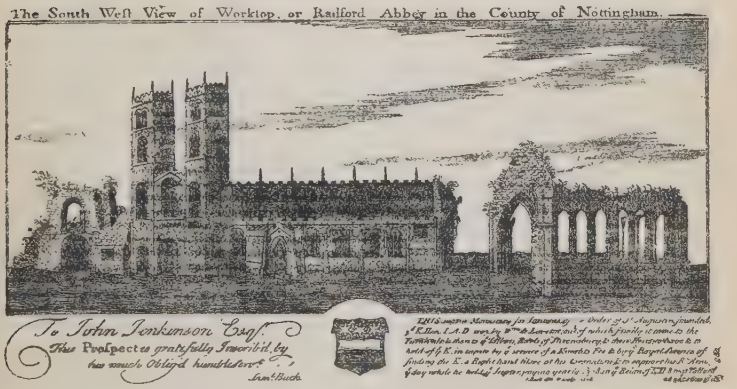
It has been calculated that £2 a year was sufficient to support a nun living in community, so that the revenues of Brodholme might suffice for seven or eight; there were in fact ten when the suppression took place. The buildings were pulled down, and now not one stone stands on another, but several are preserved in the buildings that now occupy the site.

Rufford. From the foundation to the dissolution there were seventeen Abbots. At the dissolution the abbey contained fifteen monks. The only remains of the abbey are a part of what may have been the refectory, now used as a servants' hall. The groined arches, resting on circular columns, are a fine specimen of good work.

The monks of the Cistersian order "were usually persons of superior position and education, whom natural disposition or circumstances had induced to accept the severe mental and bodily descipline of a religious life; most of their number would be priests. They lived, worked, managed the affairs of the establishment, and held their religious services seven times a day," in accordance with the Psalmists words "Seven times a day do I praise Thee." They never left the narrow bounds of their establishment except with special permission, and on urgent business; and their vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience were carried out to the letter, and in almost total silence. "Their dress consisted of a narrow tunic, and a long robe with sleeves, all of undressed wool, fastened round the waist by a cord. Ordinarily they wore no cowl. Their time was passed chiefly in choir duties, in study, and in writing in the Scriptorium. As a part of their discipline they engaged

in manual labour, but they had associates whose business was to do the ordinary farm work of the community."—*T. Blashill.*

Worksop. The last prior, Thos. Stokkes, with fifteen of his brethren, surrendered his priory, Nov. 15, 1539, and he received a pension of £50 a year, while they obtained pensions of £6 to £2. The gross income was estimated at £302 6s. 10d., and the reprisals at £62 11s. 5d. On Nov. 22, 1541, a grant was made of the messuages and lands to Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, at an annual rental of £23 8s. 0d., and on service of finding the King a right hand glove, and supporting his right arm whilst holding the sceptre on the day of his coronation.


The South West View of Worktop, or Radford Abbey in the County of Nottingham.
To John Jenkinson Esqr.
This Prospect is gratefully Inscribd. by
his much Oblig'd humble Servt.
Sam.l Buck.

From an Engraving in the possession of C. F. Elliott Smith, Esq.

As soon as Thomas Stokkes, the prior, surrendered the building to the commissioners of Cromwell, the work of destruction began. The portable valuables were carried off to find their way to the King, or the Jews and brokers; the stained window glass perished; the tombs were despoiled; the lead was melted; the carved work was dispersed; and the church was left a mutilated skeleton.

The gatehouse, with its guest chamber and beautiful window over the gateway, is still standing, with its interesting oak ceiling, the timber for which may have been part of two

hundred oaks which the prior and convent had the permission of the Archbishop of York, in 1314, to cut down in the Forest of Roumwood.

The Priory Church is now the Parish Church. It is supposed to date from about 1170. It was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, who was the sixth Bishop of Durham, and who died in 686; and it is supposed that the Normans declined to dedicate their new building to a Saxon saint, and so took the Virgin Mary as the patron. The building was restored in 1850, and is now a noble edifice. Its style is late Norman, varied with examples of the transitional period. It is rich in the interior. The old building was twice the size of what now remains. There is a small portion of the cloisters left. The west doorway of the church, and the doorway leading to the cloisters, have some very beautiful work. Detached from the present building is a fine ruin of a side chapel in Early English. The monuments have been shockingly mutilated, telling of work done centuries ago. In *Beauties of Sherwood Forest* (Sissons, Worksop) a quotation is given from the churchwardens' accounts, about 1560: "Item paid for bred and drynk at the abollyshing of the ymages & p'lling down of the alt[ar] VIIId.," and many entries appear concerning the sale of stone, iron, wood, etc.

Newark. Thoroton says: "Here was a House of Austin, and another of Observant Friars. Also an hospital of St. Leonard, founded by Bishop Alexander, and another of the Knights Templars, annexed to it, and burnt in the Civil War."

CHAPTER XXIX.

OUR NOTTS. MONASTERIES—Continued.

NOTTINGHAM.

The monasteries in the old Town need not detain us. Their tale has been told so recently by Mr. A. Stapleton, in *The Churches and Monasteries of Old and New Nottingham*, that a short notice will suffice.

The Grey Friars. The Grey Friars, Minorites, or Franciscans, were the followers of St. Francis, who came to England in 1224, and aimed at living among the people, or near to them, choosing low, swampy, undrained spots, their house and grounds in Nottingham being at the junction of Broad Marsh and Greyfriar Gate, reaching down to the Leen. Their surrender was in 1539. Sir Thomas Skevington, priest, and sometime the warden of the Friars Minor, died in 1540, and was buried in the chancel of St. Peter's Church, to which he bequeathed various articles. In 1548, the premises were granted to Thomas Heneage, and in 1571-2, the Corporation took down the stone wall, and the foundation of the cross.

Degeneracy. Many bequests are recorded by Mr. Stapleton as given to the priory, but there is unfortunately no record of any good works done. For 200 years they did a useful work, and degenerated. In 1393, John Leveret, of Coddington, was brought in the custody of five men to the County Gaol, but in some way escaped, and fled to the Friars' Church, where he was presumably safe from arrest by the civil authority. In 1500, and again twenty years later, there were charges of vice, which appear to indicate great degeneracy, and the necessity for suppression.

Abel Collin. It is interesting to note that the land where the monastery was is now the property of the trustees of Abel Collin, and that the alms-houses, founded in 1782, occupy a part of the site. Four acres were then purchased for £580, or £145 per acre, and with other land added cost 7d. per yard. The Corporation of Nottingham are reported, at the time of writing, to have offered the trustees £12 per yard for the frontage for widening the street. This is at the rate of £50,080 per acre, the back land being, of course, of small value. Whatever the amount, the Charity will be largely benefited, and if in heaven they know of the transactions of earth, Abel Collin, who founded the hospital, will be a happy man.

The White Friars. The White Friars, or Carmelites, are so named, for when in 1238-40, in the War with the Saracens, our forces ascended to the top of Mount Carmel, this Order of friars was living there, and claimed to be the successors of Elijah. Their house in Nottingham was in Friar Lane, and their land reached from Park Street to Postern Street, up to St. James' Street, including St. James' Chapel.

There is recorded, in 1307, an interesting case of co-operation in keeping the light burning before the altar, in token of perpetually ascending progress. At the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, five men agreed "in the garden of the Friars Carmelite, of Nottingham, that each of them should give every week throughout the whole of the year next following, one penny to the Light of the Blessed Mary." At the end of the following year each of them had five shillings. Three of them were then to trade with the money "for the common profit of the aforesaid Light"; the other two were to audit the accounts each year, and the profit to be paid to the Light. The three, however, did not pay the money over, and proceedings were, in 1311, taken against them, when they denied the agreement, and so far as is recorded, both the Light and the two contributories, we must assume, lost the benefit of the contribution.

There is an item in 1393, showing the evil use made of these places. Henry de Whitley murdered his wife, and then "fled to the Friars Carmelite, of Nottingham, and kept to the church, and could not be taken."

King Henry VIII., when staying at the Castle, apparently attended the Friars' service three Sundays in August, 1511, for his books show he made "offerings at the Rood at White Friars," in Nottingham, and the entrance gate to the priory probably stood where the entrance gate of Friary Yard now stands.

In 1513, Thomas Smithson, the prior, and Thos. Bradley, one of the brethren, sued Thomas Marsh, clerk of the Vicar of Marnham for 2s. 8d. "Plaintiffs alleged that defendant engaged one of them to celebrate mass in the Chapel of St. James the Apostle situate upon the Bridges, over the Trent, of the Town of Nottingham," for five weeks and one day, at the rate of three days weekly, for which he was to have 4d. per mass. We do not know the result.

In 1532, is a sad record, which shows that "the power and spirit of Elias" had departed from the Carmelites. Richard Sherwood, the prior, was pardoned for having killed William Bacon, one of the brethren of the same House, by a blow given in a quarrel which arose while they were drinking together, in the chamber thereof, on Monday, 21st February, 1532, of which blow the said William died on the Tuesday.

Seven years later, the surrender of the house and all its possessions was made to the King's officers, and Dr. London sold the great bell to a pewterer.

The burial ground was at the back of Beastmarket Hill, and, in excavations of property there, many bones have been found.

Dorothy Vernon. Three years after the surrender there was a royal grant of the late priory to Jas. Strelley. In 1572, John Manners, Esq., of Hadden, the husband of the celebrated Dorothy Vernon, the heiress, purchased the property for a residence, and there he entertained the Mayor and his brethren, and probably Dorothy did the honours of the table. The property continued in the Rutland family until 1802, hence the names of Rutland and Granby Streets. The old houses to the right on entering the yard, and the garden at the rear, have many points of interest, for they are the oldest houses in Nottingham, and in the garden of the house occupied by Mr. Richardson, M.P., you may almost fancy that it is a priory garden still.

Other Houses. Throsby, quoting from Thoroton, refers to several houses or guilds which there were at the time of the suppression, or previously had been.

The Plumtre Hospital, consisting of two priests, and divers poor women.

A house called St. John's (see Chapter XI). It had a master, or warden, two chaplains, and several sick poor people.

"In the Church of St. Mary, a Guild, or Fraternity of Six Priests dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and their House on the High Pavement is called Trinity House at this day."

"In St. Peter's Church the Gild of St. George and the Chantry of St. Mary in St. Peter's Church, and another Chantry there, and in the Church of St Nicholas there was a Gild or Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

In the time of Henry III., there was a cell for two monks in the Chapel of St. Mary in the rock under the Castle. (That is, the rocks now enclosed in Mrs. Leavers' grounds,

near to Castle Boulevard. See Chapter on Nottingham Park, and Mr. Stapleton's article in *The Churches and Monasteries of Nottingham*.

Control. It must be borne in mind that the monasteries had been independent of control by the bishops, and had sought to be free from the control of the State. This would result in both bishops and statesmen being pleased with their subjection, and would tend to produce an Englishman's repugnance to interference by a foreign authority, although such authority was the Bishop of Rome. The exercise of patronage by the presentation of clerical monks to the livings in the various parishes over which they had the control, might in some cases cause irritation, although, it may be, good men were presented. Such presentations were regarded as a trust, and on the trust ceasing by the dissolution, private patronage followed, with certain obligations.

The tale of the surrender of the monasteries is a sorry tale of sordid men, and yet these men professed to be acting from the purest motives, and for the highest objects. "I am very sorry," said the King in a speech to Parliament (1545), "to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel the Word of God is despoiled, rhymed, sung and jangled in every alehouse and tavern. This kind of man is depraved, and that kind of man; this ceremony and that ceremony; of this I am sure that charity was never so faint among you, and God Himself among Christians was never less reverenced, honoured, and served."

MONASTERIES AND PRIORIES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Place.	*Kind.*	*Order.*	*Founded.*	*By whom.*	*Net Revenue when Suppressed.* £	s.	d.	*To whom granted.*	*Period.*
Lenton ..	Pri.	Ben. ..	Hy. I.	Wm. de Peverel ..	329	15	7½	J. Harrington ..	5 Eliz.
Blyth ..	Pri.	Ben. ..	1088	Roger de Busli ..	113	0	8½	R. Andrews & W. Ramsden	35 Hy. VIII.
Thurgarton ..	Pri.	Aug. ..	1187	R. D'Eyncourt ..	259	9	4	Wm. Cooper ..	30 Hy. VIII.
Newstead ..	Pri.	Aug. ..	1163 or 1170	Henry II. ..	167	16	11½	Sir J. Byron ..	32 Hy. VIII.
Beauvale ..	Pri.	Car. ..	7 Ed. III.	N. de Cantilupe ..	196	6	6	R. Morison ..	4 Ed. VI.
Welbeck ..	Abb.	Pre. ..	Stephen	R. de Bellasago or Thos. de Cuckney	249	6	3	R. Whalley ..	30 Hy. VIII.
Rufford ..	Abb.	Cis. ..	1148	Gil. de Gaunt ..	176	11	6	Geo. Earl of Shrewsbury	—
Worksop ..	Pri.	Aug. ..	Hy. I. 1103	Wm. de Lovelot ..	239	15	5	Fran. Earl of Shrewsbury	33 Hy. VIII.
Felley ..	Pri.	Aug. ..	—	R. Britto ..	40	19	1	Sub. to Worksop ..	—
Shelford ..	Pri.	Aug. ..	Hy. II.	Ralph Hauselyn ..	116	12	1	M. Stanhope ..	31 Hy. VIII.
Mattersey ..	Pri.	Gil. ..	1192	Robt. de Maresey ..	55	2	5	A. or Hy. Neville ..	31 Hy. VIII.
Wallingwells	Nun.	Ben. ..	Stephen	R. de Cheurolcourt ..	58	9	10	R. Pype & Fran. Boyer ..	6 Eliz.
Brodholme ..	Nun.	Pre. ..	Hy. II.	Agnes de Carnville ..	16	5	2	J. Coniers or Carney & W. Haber	6 Eliz.

EXPLANATIONS :– Pri. –means *Priory*. Abb.—*Abbey*. Nun.—*Nunnery*. Ben.—*Benedictine*. Aug.—*Augustinian*. Car.– *Carthusian*. Pre.– *Premonstratensian*. Cis.– *Cistercian*. Gil.– *Gilbertine*. St. Fran.—*St. Francis, Minorites*. Carmel—*Carmelite*.

COLLEGES, HOSPITALS AND CELLS.

Place.	Kind.	Order.	Founded.	By whom.	Net Revenue when Suppressed. £	s.	d.	To whom granted.	Period.
Bawtry ..	Hos.	—	—	——	6	6	8	——	—
Clifton ..	Col.	—	1156	Ralph Brito ..	20	2	6	A. Strelley ..	—
Fiskerton ..	Cell	Aug.	—	R. de Agincourt ..	—	—	—	E. Fynes Lord Clinton ..	—
Blythe ..	Hos.	—	—	Wm. de Cressey ..	8	14	0	——	—
Newark ..	Hos.	Aug.	Hy. I.	Alex. Bishop of Lincln	17	1	9½	——	—
Ruddington	Col.	—	Before 1185 Hy. VI	Wm. Babington ..	14	13	4	——	—
Sibthorpe ..	Col.	—	Ed. II.	Geoffrey le Scrop ..	25	18	8	R. Whalley & T. Magnus	37 Hy. VIII.
Stoke East ..	Hos.	—	Very early	——	8	13	0	Jno. Mersh & F. Greneham	18 Eliz.
Southwell ..	Col.	—	Before 1313	——	—	—	—	Surrendered dissolved and restored.	—
Gonalstone	Ch.	—	Hy. III.	——	5	18	9	Surrendered dissolved ..	27 Eliz.

NOTTINGHAM.

Place.	Kind.	Order.	Founded.	By whom.	Net Revenue when Suppressed. £	s.	d.	To whom granted.	Period.
St. John's St.	Hos.	St. John Bap.	1208 or before	——	4	13	4	The Mayor ..	Ed. VI.
Broad Marsh Grey	Fri.	St. Fran.	Hy. III,	——	—	—	—	Thos. Henneage ..	Ed. VI.
Friar Lane White	Fri.	Carmel.	1250—1276	Ld. Grey de Wilton and Sir J. Shirley	—	—	—	J. Sturley or Strelley ..	33 Hy. VIII.
Plumptre, Fisher Gate	Hos.	—	1392	J. de Plumtre ..	11	7	0	——	—
St Leonard's, Huntingdon St. (Leper)	Hos.	—	1154 or before	— -	—	—	—	——	—

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REFORMATION.

The Reformation was not only a spiritual necessity, but was one of those upheavals that must come sooner or later. All history shows that where wrong exists, and is unredressed, it is only a question of time and occasion for retribution to come. It was not a vain imagination that led the ancients to place the goddess, Nemesis, on a throne ruling the affairs of men, and inflicting a punishment where a moral wrong was done. Rather, it was common sense in action. Their powers of observation, the result of their experience, and the testimony of history had shown them what the revelation of God has shown to us more clearly: "Vengeance is Mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." It may not be uniform; it may not be immediate; it may not be perceived by onlookers;—but in the moral government of God a cause is followed by an effect; an evil by a remedy; a wrong by a judgment. And this law works for righteousness, and is a ground for hope. Evil is not, and cannot be, eternal; the wrongs of yesterday are gone, the wrongs of to-day will go, the wrongs of to-morrow will not be so strong as the wrongs of yesterday; the evil is weakening, the good is strengthened. God lives; we must persevere with the good and the right. Progress is slow, but sure. There have been bad times; there are now better; and there will be good times coming. God is in history, and the observant soul may see in history God acting.

> "Now the heart is so full that a drop overfills it,
> We are happy now because God wills it;
> No matter how barren the past may have been,
> 'Tis enough for us now that the leaves are green;
> We sit in the warm shade and feel right well
> How the sap creeps up and the blossoms swell."
>
> *Lowell.*

Before the Reformation the moral, social, and spiritual condition of England was exceedingly low, and the Church was worse than the people, for those who called themselves the Church had the light, or had the means of obtaining it, but they deliberately shut it out. There is not a more valuable asset in a nation than a priest who fulfils his mission of

drawing the people nearer to God, and therefore to goodness, righteousness and truth. But when the priest is immoral, there is not a greater nuisance to society; he is fit only to be removed by the first scavenger who comes along. The scavenger may be a very dirty man, and his cart may be more filthy than himself, but the nuisance must be removed at all cost. Let us thank God that an immoral clergy is, so far as we are concerned, like leprosy and small-pox—a thing of the past.

One of the things that the student of pre-Reformation history finds constantly cropping up is the persistent and ever-continuing system on the part of the Church of getting hold of the money of the people; by tithes and offerings given under moral or legal compulsion; by annates, or first year's income, or first fruits; by pluralities; by indulgences and monetary payments for moral offences; by allowing the building of chantries to compound for property wrongly obtained; by threats of vengeance here and hereafter; by witholding of the rites of the Church as to marriage, absolution, burial; and in many other ways the student of history is forced to the conclusion that one of the main objects sought was money, or its equivalent in power, in influence, or pleasure.

Tithes. Tithes were originally voluntary offerings given to God, and were afterwards specified to be for the benefit of the priest, the church fabric, and the poor, or for special prayers, or otherwise. In the early history of the Norman rule in our County, there were charters granting tithes of fish, venison, wool, and all manner of things. A lord of a manor wished to give the tithes on his estate, or a portion of them, for the support of the priest, who was to minister in the parish church which he (the lord) had built. This was done, not by a written document, but by the symbolical delivery of some article in the presence of witnesses, and such gift continued in force as long as the donor lived. There was thus a voluntary surrender of a part of his (the lord's) income, and this was good in the sight of both God and man, but usages sprang up which became customs, and were enforced by penalties for default, so that men were compelled to pay, whether they willed to do so, or not. The collection of such tithes, always a thankless office, became more so by unreasonable exactions. The law, or custom, became pitiless to the poor. A tax of two shillings in the pound on a man's wages, often small; every tenth egg or chicken, lamb or calf; every

tenth sheaf, or cock of hay; every tenth gallon of milk, or cheese, was a grievous burden to bear. Such exactions, Mr. G. G. Coulton says, were enforced by "cursing for tithes," as Archbishop Winchelsea enjoined in *Instructions for Parish Priests* as a sacred duty, which rendered the claims odious to the people, who on default were forbidden the use and rites of the Church, and were liable to be publicly devoted to the devil by excommunication with book, bell, and candle, and, it may be, followed by imprisonment by those who were in authority.

Mortuaries. The claims for death duties, called "mortuaries," were a severe burden on the people, for when the bread-winner of a family fell, the loss of his service to the family was burden enough, without heavy exactions for the Church. The using of spiritual terrors on dying men, leading them to make their wills in favour of what were called spiritual persons, and for supposed spiritual benefits, seriously impoverished the people.

Oblations. The "oblations," or gifts on certain feast days at mass, which had been voluntary, were insisted on as a right, and absolution made conditional on payment.

Indulgences. The sale of indulgences became a scandal. Pope Boniface IX., in 1390, complained that some of the men called Pardoners went about "falsely pretending to absolve even the impenitent for the most trifling sums of money." In an article in *The Contemporary Review* for June, 1907, Mr. G. G. Coulton quotes Gascoigne as referring several times to the extortions of Archbishop Kempe, whose diocese included our County, and who wrote: "Woe, woe to the greed of the Church! Since now-a-days about the year 1440 by command of the rulers of York Cathedral, every parish priest in the diocese is bidden to teach and enjoin in confession to every parishioner, before he receives absolution, such payment to the Cathedral fabric as the priest imposes on him." "These parishes (he says) were often farmed out to the clergy, who collected far greater sums than they ever paid into the fabric fund, and who could extort forty pence in confession from a poor man who could not really afford four."

The fines for immoralities, as well as the immoralities themselves, by both laity and clergy, are too distasteful a subject to be profitably considered. The evils were condemned,

but not prevented. Even the nominal penance was frequently relaxed. The Church—so-called—failed in her mission, and vengeance came.

Self-Centred. The doctrines, as well as the practices of the clergy necessitated a reformation. Men could understand that after repentance and confession of a sin committed, or wrong done, a priest had, or imagined he had, the power to grant absolution; but when absolutions and indulgences were sold by the score, the claim, as well as the practice, was brought into contempt. The veneration of the relics of good men and women departed was harmless—nay, praiseworthy; but when they were made the means of increasing the income of the priest or place, and especially when miracles began to be wrought by some supposed virtue in the relics, the very possession of them became a snare. It was easy for a man to believe in the importance of rites and ceremonies, a correct creed, and an acknowledgment of the rights of the Church; but when men saw that more importance was attached to these than to a moral life, and that churchmanship and immorality might be joined together, they more than doubted. It was easy to see how a holy and loving God must punish sin; but when they were taught that God was surrounded by a multitude of departed saints, whose services could be brought into requisition on the sinner's behalf in order to persuade God to render a benefit, but that men must be paid by the hour, or the year, to implore the saints to influence God to bestow benefits that he had declared to be free, without money and without price—or not to inflict deserved penalties—men naturally wondered and disbelieved.

Game. In *The Forest Book*, which Dickenson in his *Antiquities of Southwell* says he lately had in his possession, and which began with the laws of Henry III., for the government of the Forest of Shirewood, he gives a copy of "The sentence of curseinge given upon the trespassers of the liberties of holie Church," which was "In the year of our Lord God MCCliij, the third ides of May, in the great hall of Westm,"—then follow the names of certain peers and bishops present—"arrayed with our pontificalls with candles burning in our hands, solempnly declare, the sentence of curseinge on all trespassors and breakers of the liberties of the church, or of any other custome of the realme of England, and in especiall of the liberties and customes of our Lord the

Kynge of his great chartre of the fforeste." Notice the word "especiall"; other things were bad, but any interference with the game was "especially" so.

Then follows: "By the authoritie of the Father and the Sonne and Holy Ghost and of the blessed Virgin St. Mary, and of the Apostles Peter and Paul and of all the Apostles and of all martyrs," etc. "We accuse and from the liberties of holie church we sequester and depart all those that from henceforth willingly and maliciously holie church depriven or spoilen of her rights," etc., continued in awfully solemn words and ending with: "In witnes of the which thinge to everlastinge remembrance to endure to this assente wee have put our signes."

According to *The Old Service Books*, p. 272, the Great Sentence of Cursing was given in various forms, but with awful words, four times a year. "Then a 'candul' is cast down, and a bell tolls."

The Good Shepherd. There was One, whom for His gentleness was called the Lamb of God; who was rich, but became poor in order that we, through His poverty, might become rich; and who, because He loved us, gave Himself for us; who taught the blessedness of purity of heart; of meekness of disposition; of thirsting after righteousness, and of peaceableness of life; who said "Bless, and curse not," and who, as the Good Shepherd, laid down His life for the sheep, while the hirelings cared nothing for them. With withering scorn He denounced the hypocrites who washed clean the outside of the cup or dish, while within they were full of greed and self-indulgence; and one of His principal followers foretold the coming of grievous wolves, who would not spare the flock. The Great Contrast lived, and the prediction was given—in Asia; but alas, that the fulfilment should have taken place in Nottinghamshire!

CHAPTER XXXI.

GREAT PILLAGE, AND GREAT FIRES, 1547-1558.

Edward VI. The King was a weakly child of nine years of age when his father died, and in six years he passed away, so that whatever was done nationally, was in his name only. The Duke of Somerset (who built the great house in the Strand) became the principal Regent, calling himself Protector, and was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick, who became Duke of Northumberland. Great changes were now made, and among them all the pictures and images in the churches in our county, as in others, were removed by royal injunction. There were great accumulations of gold and silver vessels, chalices, basins, crosses, candlesticks, jewels, rings, girdles, enamelled and studded with precious stones of exquisite workmanship and priceless value; there were gorgeous vestments of beautiful embroidery and needlework, worn by the priests on special occasions; there were illuminated books, with pictures on many pages, all wrought by hand, the work of many years, and bound and clasped in the most artistic and costly manner. These were swept away wholesale. Many parishes had houses or lands, or flocks of sheep, or herds of cows, which were joint parish property, and which in some way disappeared. The bells in many church towers were taken for the value of the metal. There were in many of our parishes funds left for prayers for the souls of the departed, called obits, and chantries; these were appropriated. Where did all the value of these several properties go? That is a fair question, but who is to answer it? The late King had set the example; the nobles and gentry were richly endowed with church lands and monastic spoils, and so (for examples are always copied from above) it came to pass that a dishonest spell came over a large number of officials, land-owners, and many of the common people, so that only a small portion of the proceeds reached the official purse. Our County did, however, get a crumb or two, and, of course, it must not be assumed that all the rest was fraudulently appropriated. Still, the loss was shocking.

Retford. The Free Grammar School of King Edward VI., at Retford, for the education and instruction of boys and youths, was endowed by His Majesty, with a

chantry and lands at Sutton, a chantry at Tuxford, and lands at Kyrbie Ashfield, Morton, Anysley and Bleesbye, which were then "extended to the clear yearly value of £15 5s. 3¼d." Even farthings must be accounted for. These endowments however went wrong, for part disappeared, and part were for seventy-nine years misapplied. Confiscation was to some extent prevented by a great fire which caused immense destruction in 1528, so that in 1535 it was stated: "Where sumtyme were 1111 chauntries which now er in decaye by reason they er consumed wt fyer."—See Piercy, and Rev. A. Kidson's Histories.

Mansfield. At Mansfield, in 1556, Philip and Mary incorporated governors of the chantry lands and buildings, and afterwards Queen Elizabeth constituted the Free Grammar School for the bringing up and instruction of youths and boys.

"There were in the Church at Mansfield," Thoroton says, "before the time of Ed. VI., ten chantries, whose lands Queen Mary gave in fee to the Vicar and Churchwardens to sustain one chaplain or priest."

Newark. Referring to the Grand Hospital of St. Mary, at Newark, Canon Jessop, in his book *Before the Great Pillage*, says, "that some of the Hospitals for the sick and needy were stripped of all their belongings, the inmates sent out to hobble into some convenient dry ditch to lie down and die in," and adds, "Men and brethren, you doubtless think this mere exaggeration. If you do, and if you have the will to learn the plain unvarnished truth, and the means to pay an expert duly equipped for the task, give that expert a commission to write a history of the Grand Hospital of St. Mary, Newark (one among many such hospitals), an account of what it was, and what it was doing, say in 1540, and of its utter desolation and ruin less than ten years after, when the lust of gain and the spirit of Cain was master of the situation, and men in high places, of high birth, and even of high culture, found the spirit of the age too strong for them."—p. 39.

Chantries. In many of our towns and villages there were chantries attached to the churches, having chantry chapels, where prayers were offered for the repose of the soul of the founder, and the priest connected therewith assisted in general parochial work. When in the time of

Edward VI. commissioners came to Nottingham to enquire into the chantries, they were informed that in the parish of St. Mary there were "1400 houseling people, and that the vicar there had no other priest to help," but two chantry priests, whose duties were "partly to succour the poor." In St. Nicholas' parish there were "more than 200 houseling people," and the parish living being very poor, there was only an extra priest to look after them, who was supported by the members of the Guild of the Virgin.—Abbot Gasquet, in *Parish Life*, p. 96.

At South Wheatley there were parish lands let out to farm, producing 1s. 6d. a year, of which 1s. was for the poor and 6d. for church lights. In Tuxford the church lands produced 25s. 4d., which, multiplied by twelve, being the estimated difference between the value of money then and now, would give more than £15; of the 25s. 4d., 16s. 4d. was for the poor, and 9s. for church expenses, but in the "great pillage," as Canon Jessop calls it, the crown took not only the money left to say obits once a year for the repose of the soul of the founder, but also the poor's money as well, and in this way in many of our parishes parochial money and property was confiscated. There was great discontent; the histories tell us, both in the east and west, and in the Midland Counties, for not only were all these changes made by riding rough-shod over the people, as was done both before and after, but to add to the evil "there was general agricultural distress, due to the selfish policy of the landowners, the extension of sheep farming, and of course great displacement of labour, the enclosure of common lands, evictions from small holdings and other innovations in religion."

It was not, however, all bad in the days of Edward VI., although the Prophet says: "Woe unto thee, O land, when thy king is a child." There were some good things done. The penalties on Lollardry-Wycliffeism—early reformers—were removed, so that men had a little liberty to think, and some of the persecuting acts passed in the reign of Henry VIII. were rescinded; priests were, as they ought to be, allowed to marry; the Prayer Book and Service in the English tongue was used in 1549, and the revised Prayer Book ten years afterwards.

Queen Mary. When Mary came to the throne there was great consternation among the clerics and the land-owners, for the Queen was a Catholic by conviction,

and therefore, the offices held by the one class, and the lands held by the other, became very insecure. The majority of the bishops, and Parliament, were, however, quite willing to change their religion, if they could hold their offices and lands. The Queen was in her thirty-eighth year, and by the unjust and hard treatment of her father, and of his successors in power, had grown up suspicious and morose ; her troubles had not had a chastening effect upon her, and now she determined to have her revenge for the insults that had been offered to her, and to the faith that she clasped with all her might. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was made her Prime Minister. The Pope was appealed to to pardon the past, and he sent over his Legate, Cardinal Pole, who had long been exiled, and against the will of both Parliament and people, Mary determined to marry Philip, the son of the Emperor of Germany, the Royal House that had delivered themselves and their country into the hands of the Holy Inquisition. The House of Commons, by a majority of 350 to 80, restored the mass, and decreed the celibacy of the clergy. A second Parliament, by a formal vote, acknowledged its defection, asked the Holy Father's forgiveness, and received on their knees the Legate's absolution. The Statutes against Papal jurisdiction were repealed, and a return of obedience to the Holy See formally voted ; but when the restoration of the Church lands came to be considered, all proposals were rejected, and so it came to pass that the landlords, to whom grants had been made in Nottinghamshire, formerly belonging to the monasteries (for which see page 119), were left undisturbed in their possessions, as were those persons to whom they were in some cases quickly sold or exchanged. The Act against the Lollards was revived, and the powers of the Holy Inquisition were conferred on the Bishops' Courts.

Fires. And now the Fires began, and for nearly three-and-a-half years continued incessantly ; and not merely fires, but all other kinds of persecution, which raged worst in London, the See of Bishop Bonner, and in the See of Canterbury, where Cardinal Pole succeeded Cranmer, and in the Eastern Counties. There was one person burnt at Leicester, and one at Derby, but I have not met with a case recorded in our own County.

In Smithfield Market, there is a tablet which says : " Within a few feet of this spot, John Rogers, John Bradford,

John Philpot, and others, suffered death by fire, for the faith of Christ, in the years 1555-6-7. The noble army of Martyrs Praise Thee." *

It is said that there were two hundred and eighty-eight persons burnt for their religion, including five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, fifty-five women, and four children. There were burnings in Henry VIII.'s time, and in Elizabeth's time; but there were more victims in that four years than there were in the thirty-six years of the former, and forty-five years of the latter reign. The effect of this barbarity was the exact opposite of what was intended, for no other step that could have been taken would have so thoroughly made the nation a Protestant one, and the more so because the burnings did not begin until the arrival of the Pope's special Legate, the hated Spanish marriage, and the formal submission by Parliament to Rome.

Blessing. Those fires of Smithfield have brought wondrous blessings on our country, for as the ascending fires not only opened and lighted up the heavens, revealing a loving, sympathising Lord,—not receiving the worship of angels, but as when Stephen was martyred, standing looking over the battlements of heaven in pity and concern at His suffering saints; and as when a great battle is fought, the noise and vibration cause a deluge to fall on the land that has been cursed by the struggle, bringing cleansing refreshment, so those ascending fires have brought down to us—even in Nottinghamshire—showers of blessings of holy example, patient endurance, firm principle (millstone grit), and the rights and value of liberty of conscience.

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* The descendants of John Rogers live among us. One of them is the wife of Henry Ashwell, Esq., J.P., formerly Chairman of the Nottingham School Board; another is Mr. John Rogers, who in 1882 was President of the Nottingham and Notts. Sunday School Union. Twelve generations have passed since the wife and children saw John Rogers committed to the flames, having encouraged him on the way. During that time the representatives of that family have been occupying places of trust and responsibility, and many of them have been ministers of religion. Mr. John Rogers has a fine collection of Bibles of the sixteenth century, including the one translated and published by John Rogers, under the name of "Thomas Matthew," which was a combination of Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations, and which rendered signal service when the risk ran was confiscation, imprisonment, and death; hence the assumed name.

"But glorious it was to see how the open region was filled with horses and chariots; with trumpeters and pipers; with singers and players on stringed instruments; to welcome the Pilgrims as they went up and followed one another in at the beautiful gate of the City." "Then I heard in my dream, that all the bells in the City rang again for joy, and that it was said unto them: 'Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.'" —*Pilgrim's Progress.*

Papal Claims. While the persecuting spirit must always be condemned, as coming from an evil principle, or from a wrong application of a right principle, and this whether the victim be a Roman Catholic, an Anglican, a Dissenter, a Jew, or an Agnostic, yet there must always be borne in mind that there is this essential difference as regards Roman Catholic rule and policy: that the Pope claims to be a Monarch, as well as a minister of Jesus Christ, and that as such he is above all other Monarchs, and claims their obedience, as well as the obedience of their subjects, and that he can at will revoke their allegiance to their Sovereign, as he did in the case of John, of Henry VIII., and of Elizabeth; and that, in addition, he claims infallibility, and that this power is inherent, was conferred by Jesus Christ, and has continued ever since; so that, whereas all other sections of the community now acknowledge that persecution for belief is folly, yet the rulers of the Roman Catholic Church cannot take this ground, if out of that Church there is no salvation. It will at once be seen that there were here some very large powers claimed, affecting civil society; and because of this, centuries ago, members of the Roman Catholic Church had to suffer, for the Government of the day was afraid of attempts to exercise the powers claimed, and therefore the individuals suffered because of the system. Let us thank God that our liberties are now sufficiently assured that we can say: "No Catholic, or any other person, shall be under any civil disability because of his religious belief." But Catholic emancipation ought to have been given a hundred years earlier than it was, for living people are better than a frigid creed.

Calais. The Spanish marriage brought us into wars with France, and perhaps it was good for us that Calais was lost to us, for it being in our possession was an irritation to France; but the loss of it almost broke Mary's heart, who, racked by disease, forsaken by her husband, the prey to mel-

ancholy, hated by the people, yet persecuting to the last, she died, and within three days her cousin and adviser, Cardinal Pole, died also; and a hundred years of Protestantism for every year of the Fires has been the result of her work.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CRANMER AND THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1489-1556.

Thomas Cranmer was a Nottinghamshire boy, having been born at Aslockton, on 2nd July, 1489, where "Cranmer's Mound" and "Cranmer's Walk" may be seen. There is in the adjacent Whatton Church, an incised slab to the memory of his father, John Cranmer, whose death took place in 1501. The son "was placed under the tutorial care of a rude parish clerk. In the sports and pastimes of the period he indulged with boyish zest. He practised with the long-bow and cross-bow; used to hunt and hawk; and in horsemanship, of which he was especially fond, he became, for a boy, somewhat proficient." Upon the death of his father, he was removed from Aslockton, sent to Cambridge, and his direct connection with our County ceased.

He is described by an opponent as having "a dignified presence, adorned with a semblance of goodness, a considerable reputation for learning, and manners so courteous, kindly and pleasant, that he seemed like an old friend to those whom he encountered for the first time. He gave signs of modesty, seriousness, and application."

Life and Habits. He took a Fellowship, which, however, was forfeited by his marriage; but, his wife dying, the Fellowship was restored. He became Doctor of Divinity, and Archdeacon of Taunton. When the plague drove him from Cambridge, he visited Waltham, was introduced to King Henry VIII., became his Chaplain, and, in 1553, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Of some of his acts as a statesman we cannot approve, and others appear to merit strong condemnation. He was much too subservient to

the wishes of the King, who must have been a remarkable personage, for he inspired into his ministers a strong confidence in his judgement, and an opinion expressed, was given subject to the King's mind being otherwise. He regarded the King's will as law, and maintained that he, and all other bishops, and civil officials, had alike to carry out the King's will—of course subject to the law of God. When he had not the King's business on hand, he commonly spent three parts of the day in study, and so became one of the most learned men of his day, and wrote many books. When the King had any doubt, or question, he would send word of it to the Archbishop overnight, and by the next day the King would be supplied with brief notes of the minds of the Doctors, as well divines as lawyers, both ancient and new, for he could at once lay his hands upon thirty, forty, sixty, or more authors, "and so, reducing the notes of them altogether would advise the King more in one day than all his learned men could do in a month": so says the Archbishop's secretary. We at once perceive that we have to do—not with an ambitious man, fond of ostentation, like Wolsey; nor a hard, unscrupulous administrator, like Thomas Cromwell—but with a bookman, a student, who knows little of the outside world, and cares less. His books are his world, and the administrative work is gone through as a matter of routine, depending largely upon the will of others; and this studious man is thrown into circumstances where there is a direct break with past Papal authority, which has been awfully abused, and by correspondence and visits with continental scholars who have perceived the light of the new learning, and especially of what they call the Gospel—that is, the teachings of our Lord and His apostles, apart from the accretions and abuses of the Church and history; and he cultivates an open mind, that in the course of years widely grows, but is limited by the extensive acquaintance he has of the old teachers, and this moderation and ripe scholarship is manifest in his writings, especially in the Prayer Book.

His Fall. Yet this man, with great learning, industry, and ability, has great weaknesses. Into the part that he took in the business of the King's wives, however reprehensible, it is unprofitable to enter, and over his terrible collapse immediately before his death we may pass very lightly. God only knows the force of temptation when a man desires to live, and the continuance of life seems to be offered by compliance with the authority and teaching of men in power,

and of all the teachers for a thousand years before, and this coming upon a mind beset with clever casuists, armed with alternate insults, threats, suggestions, promises. Anyhow, in the hope of life he signed a submission to the Catholic Church, the Pope, and the King and Queen (Philip and Mary), which was followed by a mock trial, a degrading stripping of the symbols of his various offices, and insulting remarks by his judge, the coarse Bonner. The signature of the death warrant was a foregone conclusion, but was followed by a strange change of treatment—of recreation, bowls, delicate fare, etc., along with Spanish Friars incessantly plying him—and this had its effect. He signed documents and recantations prepared for him, accepted transubstantiation, and the other sacraments taught by the Church of Rome, and paper after paper had his signature attached. His enemies should have stopped here, and his degradation would have been complete, and his memory have been treated with contempt; but they were not satisfied; they must have a grand spectacle of his degradation. There must be a sermon preached at the stake. The Queen was desirous that good sermons should be preached at the burning of heretics, and had given the preacher the heads of his discourse. The morning of the execution, March 21st, 1556, was, in Oxford, foul, wild and rainy, so the sermon was given in St. Mary's Church, during which the prisoner wept as if his heart would break; and the sermon, being ended, he was called upon to declare his profession of faith, which, with sundry prayers, he did, concluding with the declaration that the great thing which troubled his conscience more than anything that ever he did or said in his life was the things that he had written since his degradation contrary to the truth, for fear of death, and to save his life. "And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For if I may come to the fire it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and anti-Christ, with all his false doctrines."

Hurried to the place of execution, the site of which is now marked by a stone in the pavement, he was chained to the stake, the fire was applied, the offending hand thrust into the flames, and held there a good space before it came to any other part of his body, and as the hand was wasting he cried with a loud voice: "This hand hath offended." With patience and courage he waited until the fire terminated his sufferings, and so ended.

Tested. The divinity in a man is tested, not so much by his fall, as by his recovery. David, and Peter, and Judas fell, but Judas went and committed suicide as the short cut out of treachery into perdition. David could never have written that piteous appeal (which has helped many a man to climb out of the pit into which he had fallen): "Have mercy upon me, O God—Wash me—Deliver me from blood-guiltiness," had he not have fallen into the very hell of guilt; nor could Peter have written an Epistle to tell men how not to fall, had he not himself yielded to the power of temptation. Some men seem to be allowed to fall that they may be a warning spectacle to others, and in every case the lesson for us is not so much execration, as "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

What we owe. What do we owe to this man? If, next Sunday, walking into any parish church in the County, we heard the Service read in a foreign language — Latin — we should appreciate one benefit that Cranmer secured for us. The Devonshire men rose in rebellion at the change, for they said they could not understand English; but books and railways have altered all that. God Almighty wrote, not merely in the Fourth Commandment, but deep down in the constitution of man, that there must be six day's work and one day's rest. The Church had altered this fundamental law by imposing the observance of a great number of Saint Days, thereby involving national loss, and Cranmer helped to deliver us from this, as well as from the waste resulting from votive offerings at sacred shrines, and from death-bed gifts to escape from purgatorial pains. Our people were without the Bible, and he laboured much to secure its introduction, in face of great opposition from other bishops, and when he had succeeded, he wrote: "You have showed me more pleasure herein than if you had given me a thousand pounds." His efforts to obtain the education of the poor were not so successful as those by which deliverance from the bondage to Rome and our national liberties were secured. But one of his greatest successes was the Book of Common Prayer.

The Prayer Book. In the book *Thomas Cranmer*, by the Rev. Canon Mason, it is said: "The history of the Prayer Book down to the end of Edward's reign is the biography of Cranmer, for there can be no doubt that almost every line of it is his composition. It was a task

for which he was well fitted." This, however, can refer only to what was not copied from the old Service Books. "And if Cranmer was qualified for liturgical revision by special studies, he was no less qualified by his splendid command of the English language, and by his instinctive sense of what would suit average English minds." In regard to the beauty of the language, Lord Macaulay speaks of it as "that great model of chaste, lofty, and pathetic eloquence, the Book of Common Prayer"; and well he may, for although written in a somewhat coarse period, it is refined, yet simple, and free from barbarisms. Take two prayers for specimens, and notice the choice language, and the beautiful iterations:—

> "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again; Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood," etc.

Or that:—

> "Lord of all power and might, who art the author and giver of all good things; Graft in our hearts the love of thy Name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Those words are not only beautifully chosen, but every word has a thought behind it.

The Litany. It is, however, in the Litany that the soul of the compiler is most fully brought out. There, in choice language, out of the depths of almost every conceivable difficulty and circumstance that can occur to a man in this mortal life, he is led to pour out his heart before God, and to expect the blessing to be adapted to his needs.

It can scarcely be called a defect in a general supplication, that while the seeking soul finds rest and peace, he fails to obtain joy. The Psalmist goes to the very deeps in his sense of sin, of guilt, of misery; but when he has poured out his heart before God, he rises in the power of faith in infinite mercy into the sunshine on the mountain top of thanksgiving, and like the lark, he warbles note after note ascribing praise to God, the fount of all happiness.

Sad Times. This lack may have arisen from the terrible times when the prayer was written, in which there was so much to cause sadness of heart. It is now, however, when the times have so much improved, that we notice how few people attain to the joy of religion. While God intended that it should be the gladdest thing on earth, their souls singing in the sunshine of His favour, and in the provision for their salvation, men have made it too often to consist in the dreary performance of endless duties, confessions, and penances. They cannot say: "Thou hast put gladness into my heart." No wonder they postpone heaven until their spirits ascend into the sky. God wills, however, that heaven should be brought down into the City and County of Nottingham, here and now.

Burial Service. We shall be able to make a contrast, and to note a gain, if we refer, as an illustration, to the Burial Services of the two Churches. Turning to the Catholic Prayer Book, we see a devout Catholic about to die. He has, as a preparation for death, received the Holy Viaticum. "The Viaticum is the Holy Eucharist received with the intention of preparing the sick for death." "It is the safeguard that must preserve the soul on its journey to heaven: it is the pledge of immortal glory. 'He that eats this bread shall live for ever.'" The Sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered; the last blessing, and plenary indulgence bestowed; all the Saints appealed to pray for the dying man, and to God to deliver him, and the Christian soul is bid to go forth in the name of all the Saints of God. In the Litany for the Dead, prayers are offered for deliverance from the anger of God, the bonds of sin, the pains of purgatory, "from that dreadful prison whence there is no release till they have paid the last farthing; and from all their torments incomparably greater than the sharpest pains of this life."

Now turn to the Prayer Book of the Church of England. The very first words are a message of hope: "I am the Resurrection and the Life," followed by words of pious resignation. In the Scripture portion is the revelation of the soul being developed with a spiritual body, and, with a triumphant shout, the living and the departed are changed in a moment, and death is swallowed up in victory. The body is committed to the ground, in sure and certain hope, and you hear the well-beloved Son saying: "Come, ye blessed of my Father." In such a Service anyone who has stood by the grave side of a departed loved one can realize the greatness of the gain.

Holy Scripture. Has it ever occurred to you how much of the Holy Scriptures has to be read and heard in the public services? From a dozen to a score portions have to be read every Sunday, and who can tell with what effect, for we are told that "the Word of His grace is able to build up, and give an inheritance among the sanctified." Especially is this helpful to people who cannot read, and to those who will not read at home, and where the sermon has nothing in it; and the greater help is obtained where the reading is well done. As one man can get out of a song a two-fold result more than another, so the reading by one man is doubly edifying, to the reading of another. One wonders that elocution is not more studied by men who occupy the desk or the pulpit, for with distinct utterance, a natural tone, a proper emphasis, twice the benefit may be obtained.

Revision. But are there not mistakes in the Prayer Book? Certainly there are. Had you a generation ago talked with an American, he would have told you that the Constitution of the United States was almost a Divine document—an inspiration; but he has lived long enough to admit that there are in it grave difficulties, and that to be governed by a "dead hand" is not an ideal system of government. There are doctrines defined in the Prayer Book, and the Articles, the definition of which we have outgrown. There are obligations of ritual that do not adapt themselves to our modern life, and which involve a burden on the observer too heavy to carry in these days of "quick march." A prudent and cautious revision is necessary. The Westminster Catechism needs revision, and the Church Catechism in like manner. "Why," asks Lord Bacon, "should the Civil State be purged

and restored by good and wholesome laws made every three years in Parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief, and contrariwise the Ecclesiastical State still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration these forty-five years or more?" Frequent alterations and unnecessary changes are to be deprecated, as much as the continuance of an obsolete good, but the difficulty of revision is that the evils we know of may be less than those we know not of; for it is not merely unreasonable and wicked men from whom we may pray to be delivered, but extreme men, however good, who would die for a mere form, and, drowning, would gasp the last word.

In the days of the Solemn League and Covenant, the Scotch refused to have the Prayer Book at any price, for an enforced form of Service was repugnant to them. There are millions of good Christian men and women in these days who prefer to worship God without the aid of a form of prayer, and feel their spiritual instincts nourished thereby; but let us thank God that during the three hundred and fifty years since the Prayer Book was penned, millions of people have by it been helped heavenwards, and their devotions have by its aid been excited and guided. "I believe," wrote the Rev. John Wesley, "there is no Liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety, than the Common Prayer of the Church of England."—*Spectator*, 817.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ELIZABETH'S PARLIAMENT AND COMMISSION, 1558-9.

When Queen Mary died the supporters of the new form of religion were fully prepared to take action, and it is said that within two hours of Mary's death, the Lords of the Council had Elizabeth proclaimed both at Westminster and Cheapside. The legal position was very difficult, for many persons regarded the new Queen as illegitimate, and all the devout Catholics were against her, and in favour of her cousin,

Mary, Queen of Scots. The principal men in the Council and Parliament deemed it best to accept the settlement made by Henry VIII, by the authority of Parliament, and therefore at once took action, but the Bishops in a body regarded the Queen as a usurper, and refused to crown her. The Archbishop of York, however, who was also Lord Chancellor, and had the spiritual charge of our county, in his official capacity proclaimed Elizabeth as Queen by undoubted right of the settlement, but he would not officiate at the Coronation. The questionable attitude taken by the Bishops, together with conspiracies against the life of the Queen, had the effect of driving both the Queen and her ministers further in the direction of Protestantism than they had previously been disposed to go.

Cecil. The sagacity of the Queen was never better shown than in the choice of Cecil as her principal minister, and he continued his able services for forty years. Acting under his advice, the Queen would not take any step without the sanction of Parliament. This prudent course gave confidence. Meanwhile, only a fortnight after Her Majesty's accession an order was issued "to stay the further persecution of the professors of the gospel." The mode of electing members of the House of Commons seems to have been of very questionable form. "Five candidates were nominated by the court to each borough, and three to each county, and by the Sheriff's authority the members were chosen from among the candidates." In the House of Lords, strangely enough, Cardinal Pole had neglected to fill several vacant bishopricks, so that when the first Parliament met ten sees were vacant. This was of great importance, because when the Act for the Uniformity of Worship and the Adoption of the Prayer Book was passed, there was for its adoption a majority of only three votes, the Bishops, of couse, voting solid against it. Forty-two Acts were signed by the Queen on the 8th of May, when Parliament was dissolved. As it had been in Session only from the 25th of January, the members must have worked harder, or talked less, than some modern parliaments, and some of the Acts were of vast importance.

A Notts. Visitation. The Act of Uniformity came into force on June 24th, 1559, and on that same day letters were issued for a Visitation to the Northern province, authorizing Commissioners to proceed throughout the province to examine its state; to obtain signatures by the clergy to a

form provided; to remove those obstinately refusing; to punish persons notorious in their lives; to lay down regulations as to the reading of the Bible, the licensing of preachers, the keeping of registers, the removal of shrines, idolatrous monuments, etc. Fourteen Commissioners were appointed for our province, only a few of whom acted; but one of the most active was Dr. Edwin Sandys, whose monument stands in Southwell Cathredral, and who was shortly made Bishop of Worcestor, then of London, afterwards Archbishop of York, and finally of Canterbury. The report of the procedure of the Commissioners is written in Latin, and it now is in the Record Office, the following being a translation of the early part of their work:—

Record. "In the parish Church of the Blessed Mary in the town of Nottingham, in the Diocese of York, on Tuesday, namely the 22nd day of the month of August in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, and the first year of the reign of the most illustrious lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, Queen and Defender of the Faith.

"At which day and place prayers being ended and God's Holy Word having been declared to the people by the excellent man Master Edwin Sandes Doctor of Sacred Theology the aforesaid Edwin together with Thomas Gargrave, Henry Gates, Knights, and Henry Hawye, Doctor of Laws, in the chancel of the same church went together to a suitably prepared place, and the said persons there sitting received with all suitable humility reverence as well as obedience the Letters Commissional of our before mentioned most illustrious lady the Queen strengthened with the Great Seal and caused the same to be read publicly by the aforesaid Thomas Percy notary public scribe and registrar, and immediately they assumed the burden of the execution of the same committed by reason of the reverence and honour of so worthy a Prince, and according to the force form and effect of the same they judicially decreed that it should proceed to all the effect of law and further jurisdiction. Afterward a certain Master Robert Cressye personally constituted officer of the Archdeacon of Nottingham brought forward the Mandate citatory to him otherwise on the behalf of the aforesaid lady the Queen for the clergy and people of the Deaneries of Nottingham . . . . . admonishing and calling upon him then to undertake the royal visitation together with the certificate of

execution, &c., and in the names and surnames of all and singular the persons named in that behalf and moreover having made faith of the right required, the before said Commissioners caused all those persons cited and warned to be publicly summoned by name. Also they pronounced as contumacious all those persons warned and commissioned and not appearing, &c. Afterwards a certain learned exhortation having been delivered to the people by the before named Master Edwin Sandes, they warned all the laity, namely the parishoners and inhabitants of each parish previously having touched the most sacred gospels of God that at the second hour from dinner that they may shew to them the detections and their answers, upon the articles of the Inquisition together with the royal injunctions then read and giving in writing. Also the aforesaid lords Commissaries firmly enjoining warned all and singular the Rectors, Vicars, Chaplains, curates and non-curates present to personally appear at the hour and place aforesaid, &c. . . . . The hour arriving the inhabitants and parishioners aforesaid shewed the bills of detection together with the inventories of the goods of their churches, &c. Afterwards they made diligent examination of the state doctrines and conversation of the clergy and ecclesiastical persons individually by them to be examined, the letters ordinances and other muniments having been shewn by them, &c."

(Continued in the next Chapter.)

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ELIZABETH : NOTTS. COMMISSION—Continued.

We will continue to read a condensed report of this Visitation, for although it may be tedious, yet it is necessary in order to see how Church matters stood in our villages three hundred and fifty years ago.

Adbolton was the first place dealt with. There was found to be no curate (priest), so the fruits and other emoluments were sequestrated, that is, all the income must be set apart and applied as directed, and William Lee and Thomas Clay, parishioners, were appointed to see after this. Six days after-

wards a sitting was held in the Collegiate Church of Southwell, when it was found that Wynthorpe, Edinglee, Westdrayton, had no curates, and the incomes were sequestrated. There was a case at Wynthorpe must be reported because of the peculiarity of the sentence. "It was detected that Edward Baker, of Wynthorpe, husbandman of the said diocese of York lived in adultery with a certain Margaret Brewer. Whereupon the man called to judgment, and charged with his crime confessed. And the aforesaid Lords Commissaries enjoined upon him a first public appearance in the market place of Newarke on Wednesday next with bare feet and head, in linen or woolen clothes. And in like manner in the parish church of Newarke on the Sunday next following at time of Divine Service. And that plainly and distinctly openly and publicly he shall declare the contents in a schedule to him delivered and containing the deed aforesaid," etc.

Southwell. On the following Friday, in the Chapter House of the College of the Blessed Mary of Southwell, a number of the clergy were dealt with, and pronounced as stubborn all those who, though named, did not appear. The Rev. H. N. Birt, O.S.B., in *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, thus summarizes the cases: "Of the sixteen prebendaries, however, six certainly conformed, five were as certainly deprived, while it is hardly open to doubt that three more shared the same fate, leaving two about whom definite information is wanting."

Blythe. On August 26th, the sitting was held in the parish church of Blythe, when prayers were followed by Master Robert Blunston, Master of Arts preaching the word of God" . . . . the clergy and people of the Deanery of Retforde and Laneham were visited. A case was dealt with of which the following is a condensed account, and which shews the difficulties the clergy were in when in the reigns of Henry VIII. and of Mary their marriage was illegal, and in the reigns of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth they were the reverse ("An Act of 1549 had made it legal for the clergy to marry, and many had availed themselves of it, but on March 4th, 1554, Mary issued injunctions to the bishops to deprive married priests of their cures. It is calculated that this affected one in six of the benefices of the kingdom, altering the personality of the clergy in a way not equalled before or since."—*Cornelius Brown.*): Sir Hugh Wight, clerk—the title "Sir" being one of courtesy only—and Alfred Whitton ap-

peared, and both claimed Joan as being his lawful wife. Seven years before, the said Hugh and Joan were married in the parish church of East Drayton by Edward Harlynge, curate, and they afterwards lived together as man and wife. Joan confessed this in the presence of Alfred Whitton, "her pretended husband" asserting himself to have been married to her three years ago, since which they had two children born. Sir Hugh Wrighte produced Sir Edward Harlyng and Thomas Mynnet, of East Drayton, to prove the marriage. Edward Harling, of the age of seventy years, of free condition, etc., deposed that he ministered in the first nuptials on the Eve of Saint Luke the Evangelist, about the time alleged, and ministered in the second nuptials between the said Joan and Alfred Whitton in the parish church aforesaid on a certain Sunday about three years ago. Thomas Mynnette confirmed being present on both occasions. "Whereupon the aforesaid Lords Commissaries . . . . . firmly commanded the aforesaid Alfred Whitton and also the aforesaid Joan that they should no longer keep company," etc. Poor Whitton! He would trudge back on the great North Road very sadly, and what became of the children the record sayeth not.

The Vicar of East Drayton was charged with neglecting Stokham, and pleaded poverty, but was ordered to alternately serve that place, and to find a curate. Fledborowe having no curate was sequestrated.

Clergy. We must go back. Forty-five vicars' and rectors' names are given, residing in all parts of the County, who did not attend. Probably they were all deemed contumacious—that is, guilty of wilful contempt—and deprived of their livings, but no doubt many of them afterwards submitted.

Churches. As to the Church fabricks, etc., the vicars, or the churchwardens, or the parishioners presented as follows: St. Mary's, Nottingham—No register boke hath byn kept ther by all qwenes Mary Reigne. The Charncell is in gret decaye and the wyndowes unglased. Orston—No comunion boke. The parishioners kepe no scilence in the churche. Anslay — No curate. Their vicarage ys not worthe above fyve markes by the yere, and yet ar they in numbre 160 poeple. Notingham Sayncte Peters — No Register-boke. The chauncell ys in sore decaye. Their personage ys and hath byn vacant from february laste. The

curate upon Soudaies and Hollydaies after the gospell dothe not use the Lordes prayer, the belief, and the tene commandmentes. Saynite Nycolas—No registor. The personage and chauncell is far owt of reparations. The personage hath byn voyde thies VI yeres. Adbolton—No service thar thies too yeres. Bonyne—No curate. They delyvered a comunion boke, the homelies and other small bokes to William Orton to be burned. Lowdham—Their chauncell is unrepayred. The churche is in great decaye. They delyvered to Mr. Cressye a paraphrase and too comunion bokes to be burned. Hoveringham—Long without a curate. Kirkeby—Their parson is not resident with them neither dothe distribute to the pore. Aponborowe—The Cure is unserved. They lake a comunion boke and other bokes. Colston basset—No register boke kepte this three yeres. Watton—The comunion boke and other bokes of service was burned in quene Maries tyme. Their churche hath byn vacante sithen candelmas laste. Nuthall—William Budbye and Marjarete Whitworthe doo lyve suspiciouslye. Estwaite—Sir Richard Barlowe their curate toke awaye their bokes of the comunion and the paraphrase. Stapleforth—The churche is vacante and they have no curate. Their bokes were burned in Quene Maris tyme. Lenton—Neither vicar nor curate. Scarington—Their benefice is voyde and they have no curate. Their bokes wer burnte by thofficiall.

Sowthwell—All the prebendaries howses be in decaye. Wynthorpe—Their chauncell is uncoveryde . . . . Edingley—No curate. The bokes wer delyvered to the bayly of Sowthwell to be burnned. Calverton—Their chauncell is almost fallen down for lacke of reparations. North Clyfton—They have had no curate this too yeres. Stanton—The churche is muche in decaye for lacke of reparations. Cropwell bishoppe—Their vicarege is farr in decaye. Howton—The bible the comunion boke and other bokes were burned. Stoke—The vicarege is farr in decaye. The Vicar is not resydent neither hathe sayd anny service sithen mydsomer. Eyton—The church and the vicarege be in decaye for lacke of reparations. Balderton—Their parson ys not resident. The churche is in decaye for lacke of reparations. West draiton—They have had no curate this xij monnethe. The chauncell is moche is decaye. The benefice vacante this xij monethe. Claworth—The chauncell is moche is decaye for lacke of reparations. Carlenton—Their Bible the comunion boke and the para-

phrase were delyvered to thofficiall to be burnned as he sayd. Bevercotes—Their chauncell is moche in decaye. Tuxeforthe —Their vicarege is vacante and they without a curate. Bawtrey—They have no curate this xij moneth. Estredforthe—They be unserved and have no curat to serve the cure ther. Whetley—Their vicarege is vacante. The chauncell is moche in decaye. Stokewith—They have nether parson vicar or curate to serve the cure this xij monethe. Sturton—They have nether vicar nor curate. Mr. Mawen and mistres thorneye wer maryed without askynge. Bodamsall—Their chauncell is far in decaye.

What a number of points there are in the foregoing that invite criticism and comment, but instead we must content ourselves with the exclamation of one word, and that is—DEPLORABLE!

CHAPTER XXXV.

ELIZABETH'S REIGN—Continued.

"The Midlands," says the Rev. H. N. Birt, in his book called *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, "with the possible exception of Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Oxford, seem early to have embraced the reformed religion, more or less whole-heartedly, hence the returns (of Catholic Laymen who refused to change their religion) though incomplete, do not disclose names in any number." A supplementary return for Nottingham is referred to as furnishing the names of fifteen Catholics of good social position, who would not submit to change their religion at the dictation of Parliament. Archbishop Sandys is indignant with them, "whose intolerable insolency, perverse and contemptuous disobedience, is with speed to be repressed, or else hardly the State can stand in quiet safety . . . . . for a more stiff-necked, wilful or obstinate people did I never know, or hear of." In 1568 Dr. Young, then Archbishop of York, complained, "Whereas Nottinghamshire is part of my diocese of York, and more subject to the malicious practices of the enemies of God's true religion . . . . and there are within Nottinghamshire some places where these seditious people receive great relief, having already infected

very grievously some of good calling in that country." But enough of this. A people's religion is not willingly changed by Act of Parliament.

The Queen. Let us turn to the Queen, who had inherited strong passions from her father, and would have liked to have married, hence her many coquetries, and she had her father's love of admiration. On the other hand, she had seen how his matrimonial affairs had turned out disastrously. She had also her father's ambition, and had seen how her sister had come in collision with her husband, who was ambitious also. To marry a subject would cause factions. Philip II. wanted her, and would have had no scruples about a deceased wife's sister, for probably a dispensation could have been obtained, but fortunately for us Elizabeth would not have him at any price, for he was haughty, morose, treacherous and cruel; his private life was bad, and his whole policy was devoted to sacrificing everything for the advancement, not of the people, but of the Catholic Church. Better risk an Armada than have such a King.

Mary, Queen of Scots. A thorn in the side of the Queen was her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots, who was, in default of children, the natural heir to the throne. She was married to the son of the King of France, who died. Clever, beautiful, a zealous catholic, altogether out of sympathy with the reforming party in Scotland—she was thoroughly hated in England. Terribly sinning, and awfully sinned against; for years a captive, hurried from place to place, harshly treated, plotting against Elizabeth, and naturally seeking to obtain her own liberty,—hers is a tale of sorrow and wrong that one could wish to have effaced from national records.

Mary was committed to the care of George Talbot, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who was the owner of Worksop Manor, from which place she wrote a letter, dated September 3, 1583, for "she was allowed to visit Shrewsbury's seat at Worksop." There is also a letter extant denying that she was permitted to walk in Sherwood Forest. She was also "allowed to visit." or in other words detained at Chatsworth, and Wingfield Manor, and being allowed to visit the baths at Buxton, Lord Shrewsbury wrote that she was strictly restrained from seeing "any more than her own people, and such as I appoint to attend."

The Babington Conspiracy.

In one of the conspiracies against the Queen our County was somewhat intimately interested. Anthony Babington, or Babyngton, of a Derbyshire family, joined with three priests of Rheims, and a number of gentlemen who were disaffected catholics, in a plot for the assassination of the Queen, the release of Mary Stuart, and the handing over the throne of England to the King of Spain, and the Church to the Pope. The Babbingtons had a large mansion at Kingston-on-Soar, the estate now belonging to Lord Belper, who has for many years been a diligent worker for the good administration of the County, and in Kingston Church is a richly sculptured monument of the Babbingtons. "The confederates," says Mr. Andrews in *Byegone Derbyshire*, "were bound by a mutual oath of secrecy, and with a vanity utterly inconsistent with the tragical gravity of their design, they engaged an artist to produce a painting in which they all figured; various mottoes mysteriously expressed and obviously alluding to some desperate undertaking being added. The picture was shown to Elizabeth" and her Ministers. All the conspirators, except one, were arrested, tried, condemned, confessed, and were executed. At the trial one of the prisoners was Ballard a a priest, who was the instigator of the plot. Babbington said, "I protest, before I met with this Ballard, I never meant nor intended to kill the Queen, but by his persuasions I was induced to believe that she was excommunicate and therefore it was lawful to murder her!" At the execution "seven of the principal conspirators, and among them Ballard and Babbington, were drawn on hurdles from the Tower to St. Giles' Fields." Babbington craved forgiveness of all he had offended; for consideration for his wife, to whom he had not long been married; and for forgiveness of the Queen, for the wrong he had entertained in his heart through reasons alleged to him that her death would be a deed lawful and meritorious. He then offered up his prayers in Latin. The barbarity of the execution was shocking. Each condemned person was hanged in succession, and immediately cut down, mutilated, disembowelled, and flung into a large fire. It is said that Babington was quite alive when he was cut down from the gallows, and several times exclaimed in Latin, "Spare me, O Lord Jesus." Queen Mary was believed to be cognizant of the plot, and her condemnation and execution were clamoured for by Parliament, and shortly afterwards carried out.

A Picture. In the Nottingham Castle Museum is a painting of Mary, Queen of Scots, being led to execution. The artist, Mr. Laslett J. Pott, was born at Newark, being the son of a well-known auctioneer in Nottingham. As you gaze at that picture such thoughts as the following will come to your mind:—Is it possible that so fair a face could sink so terribly low as is recorded? How fiercely strong must have been the temptation, or how terribly weak must have been the power of resistance within! Would it have been possible for Divine grace to have turned the trials into a channel for chastening the character? Did the cruel treatment she received occasion the plots, or the plots occasion the cruel treatment? Could kindness have conquered where harshness failed? These, and twenty more questions may be asked, and we shall go away with the wish that all could be forgotten; but no, these were among the acts which cannot be rubbed out; the remembrance of them will continue for ever.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NAVIGATION AND THE ARMADA.

The reign of Elizabeth was distinguished by the development of naval enterprise, and it was in 1576 determined to follow up the efforts that had been vainly attempted twenty-three years earlier to discover a north-west passage to India and China.

Willoughby. Sir Hugh Willoughby, of Wollaton, had on May 10th, 1553, sailed in the "Bona Esperanza," 120 tons, accompanied by other ships, and carrying letters from King Edward VI. to all whom it might concern, with directions to explore the northern seas, to find what islands and continents there were, and, if possible, to discover a passage by the north-east to China. One of the ships got into the Baltic, and rendered good service, but poor Sir Hugh, a valiant gentleman of singular skill in war, was driven into a bay in Lapland, and there, being unable to find fuel for the winter, and possibly his men being attacked by scurvy, he and the whole company were frozen to death. The body of Sir

Hugh was afterwards found seated in a chair, with the log book of the ship regularly entered up, and his will before him.—*Bailey.*

Wollaton Hall. It is a slight diversion, but may here be recorded that in 1580 Sir Francis Willoughby determined to build Wollaton Hall, the finest domestic monument in the County. It was eight years in building, and the stone had to be fetched from Ancaster, in Lincolnshire, it is said, on horses' or mules' backs. The cost must have been enormous, and it now stands an object of admiration and beauty. It was completed in the year of the Armada.

Frobisher. Captain Martin Frobisher, of Finningley, in this County, one of the most famous of England's naval officers, was, in 1576, engaged to follow up the quest of a passage to India. Now Captain Frobisher, with three vessels of small size, two of them being of only twenty tons burden each, and the third only of ten, with the crew numbering only thirty-five men, set out to endeavour to get into the Pacific Ocean by some imaginary north-west passage, if fortune would only open the gates. On the 11th of July, 1576, the southern extremity of Greenland was sighted. It had been discovered by some Vikings, who set out from the coast of Norway and Denmark six hundred years before, as may be seen reported in an American book, *Historical Tales: the Romance of Reality*, by Charles Morris. Sailing thence westward, the land of the American Continent came in view, and the people called Eskimo, but finding the probability of being frozen in, he returned, and tried again the next year, when, discovering what was supposed to be gold, a third enterprise was fitted out, but failed in its object. He gallantly distinguished himself in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, leading the vanguard. For his valour and skill he was knighted. His portrait was placed in the House of Lords, among the twenty-five captains who most distinguished themselves on that occasion, and in 1591 the Queen granted the Grange of Finningley, lately belonging to the Priory of Mattersey, to Sir Martin Frobisher, Knight.

Wylde. Gervase Wylde, of Nettleworth, Warsop, gentleman, fitted out a ship at his own expense, and joined the grand fleet acting against the Armada, thus setting an example of patriotism. He attained the great age of ninety-three years. One of the Willoughbys, of Wollaton, was a

WOLLATON HALL.

Commander in the Fleet. Captain Robert Fenton, of Fenton, in the parish of Sturton, in this County, who had accompanied Martin Frobisher on his third voyage to America, and who had assisted in the first expedition of settlers to Virginia, a brave and skilful seaman, was appointed pilot to the large ship commanded by the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham.

The Spanish Armada, 1588. However scanty, a reference may be made in our talks about local history to the doings of Queen Elizabeth, because they were so largely national, or more intimately connected with other localities than with ours, it is impossible to pass without further notice the Spanish Armada, so called because the Spaniards were sure beforehand of their success. King Philip II. disliked Queen Elizabeth, as she disliked him. He was the champion of heresy hunting, and determined to destroy the fleet of the country that bred the heresy-mongers. Pope Sixtus V. had formally made over our country to Philip. When ready for sea the Spanish fleet consisted of one hundred and twenty-nine vessels, half of which were galleons of the largest size then known, and only eighty English vessels could be raised to oppose it. Their ships carried 8,000 seamen, 19,000 soldiers, 2,000 cannon, and provisions sufficient to feed 40,000 men for six months, while 30,000 men were gathered in Flanders ready to embark when wanted. Here was an awful danger, and the beacon fires flashed thoughout the country to tell the invasion was at hand. Macaulay says :—

"And tower and hamlet rose in arms o'er all the boundless plain ;
Till Belvoir's lordly terraces the sign to Lincoln sent,
And Lincoln sped the message on o'er the wide vale of Trent."

"I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman," was the Queen's stirring message to her people, "but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too, and I hold it foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince of Europe, should dare to set foot within the borders of my realm."

The citizens in all the towns gave subscriptions towards meeting national and local expenses in repelling the invasion. "For several years," says Dr. Bright, "in expectation of what had now happened, the musters of the Counties had been

regularly drilled. An army of 30,000 was easily raised in the Midland Counties with a view to help in case of need, but their services were not required."

Our sailors had to fight with their food bad, and four men's food had to supply six; with ammunition so scantily supplied that each shot had to be registered; with wages in arrear, and without even the hope of prize money, for in their zeal they had refused to take prizes.

In a marvellous manner the "Invincible" fleet was shattered by opposing winds, and harassed by Lord Howard (a Catholic peer of great ability), who had the command, while Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher served under him, and Lord Seymour lay off Dunkirk, watching for the Duke of Parma, and the men waiting in Flanders. "Deus flavit, et dissipati sunt"—God blew, and they were scattered—was the pious inscription the Queen had put on a medal struck for the occasion. How the victory was accomplished is told in the thirty-first and thirty-second chapters of Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* Lord Howard, for his brilliant work, was created Earl of Nottingham. He had further work and advancements, and lived until he was nearly eighty-seven years of age.

Thanksgiving. A great day of National Thanksgiving followed on the 29th November, 1588, "which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giving of thanks," and the Queen rode in a great triumphal entry into London to give thanks at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the sense of deliverance was to them very real, but the importance to posterity was greater than even they realized. Let us see how.

Spain. Philip II., a depraved and vicious character, deemed it to be his policy to extirpate heresy, and while indulging every sort of vice and wrong, was convinced "that his religion permitted and pardoned everything, provided everything was sacrificed to his religion." He, therefore, very rigourously co-operated with the Holy Inquisition, of which *Ford* gives some figures of the number of persons burnt alive, and of those imprisoned, and of those whose goods were confiscated, that they seem to be incredible, and if even a tenth part was correct they would be shocking. This awful policy of destroying the best men in a nation—the thinkers, the men of religion, independence, and firmness—left Spain not only with an enormously reduced population, but with a lack of

ambition, enterprise, energy, self-reliance. The trade of the richest mineral country in Europe has largely passed into foreign hands; cities that were supplied by the Moors with water by great aqueducts, are now supplied with water carried by donkeys, and sold by the glass; the lands are largely in the hands of the Church, and the country swarms with beggars. Enough, however; the past is forgiven, and our Princess, as Queen, has started with her Royal Consort on the work of the redemption of a courteous people, and Spain will again rise, if it can free itself from the grasp of ecclesiastics and selfish rulers.

A Great Change. In the ninety-four years that Henry VIII. and his three children reigned over England, the state of the people was very largely changed. The events that occurred—such as the wrench from Roman rule; the suppression of the monasteries; the stripping of the parish churches of all pictures and images; the printing of the Bible; the reading of the Scriptures and the Church Service in the English tongue; the fires of Smithfield; the foundation of our Colonial Empire; the development of naval enterprise; the Spanish Armada; and such like events—compelled the people to think; and thinking led to a sense of responsibility; and that led to self-reliance and energy. And so it came to pass, that in one hundred years the England of the Middle Ages was altogether different to the England at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

TWO STUARTS.

King James I., 1603-1625. King James I., son of Mary, Queen of Scots, when on his way from Scotland to London to be crowned, was received with great loyalty. At Bawtry "Mr. Askoth, the High Sheriffe of Nottinghamshire, received him, being gallantly appointed both with horse and man: and so he conducted his Majesty on, till he came within a mile of Blyth, where his Highness lighted, and sat downe on a bank side to eate and drinke."

At Worksop he was met in the Park by a number of huntsmen, who welcomed him, and with them "he hunted a good space." In the Manor House he was received by the Earl of Shrewsbury "with superfluitie of all things, that still every entertainment seemed to exceed other. In this place, besides the abundance of all provision and delicacie, there was most excellent soul-ravishing musique, wherewith his Highness was not a little delighted."

At Southwell, the King experienced great surprise at so large and massive a church in so small a town. On some one remarking that York and Durham were much more magnificent, the King replied in his broad Scotch: "Vary weel, vary weel; but by my blude this Kirk shall justle with York, or Durham, or any other Kirk in Christendom!"

At Newark the King was received by the Corporation, the Chief Alderman of whom made a long Latin speech, which pleased the Monarch, who, having asked the name of the speaker, and being told it was Twentyman, jocularly remarked sharply: "Then by my saule mon thou art a traytor, the Twentymans pulled down Redkirk in Scotland." Dickinson, in his *History of Newark*, referring to the King's visit there, says: "Here it was that he first manifested those exalted notions of prerogative, and kingly power, which he was but too successful in inculcating afterwards into the mind of his ill-fated son." A cut-purse, being detected in the fact, was condemned by a warrant from the King to be immediately hanged, without trial or further process.

James did not visit Nottingham till he had been King seven years (1612), when an address of welcome was presented by "the Maire and the Comons," with a purse, and His Majesty was requested "to not advertyse (notice) ne concyder the smalnes of the sum, but the gode hertys, and true legeaunces that they owe to your most roiale (Majesty)."—*Borough Records*, 412. The Queen had, however, been received in 1603, in her travel from Newstead to London, being met at the entrance to the Town at Cow Lane End (Clumber Street), and presented by the Mayor with "a large cup with a cover of silver 3 parts of a yard high, and of the value of 22 ll. and lykewise gave to the younge Prince a * * purse with 20 double sovereigns in it."—411.

The visitation of the plague about this time caused great anxiety.

Markham's Plot. There was, in 1604, a plot to overthrow the Government of the King, and raise Arabella Stuart to the Throne, in which Sir Griffin Markham, son of Thomas Markham, of Ollerton, was with Sir Walter Raleigh and others, convicted of high treason, and sentenced to execution. The warrants were signed, and sent to the Sheriff of London, and when at the place of execution, a napkin to cover his face was offered Markham by a friend, he declined it, saying he could look on death without fear. He then betook him to his prayers, and, taking leave of his friends, laid his head on the block, but the axe did not fall, for the Sheriff had been secretly drawn aside by a messenger from the King, with instructions to stay the execution, whereupon Markham was left with his head resting on the block, and then he was told that his execution was postponed. Two other prisoners—Lords Grey and Cobham—went through the same painful experience, and then they "looked strange the one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world," and when the Sheriff explained that the King had given them their lives, they would not then have to die, the shouts of applause from the people was such "that the very air was rent with them." Markham was banished the realm, and lived in penury abroad; Lord Grey died in the Tower, after eleven years' imprisonment; and Lord Cobham's large estates were all confiscated, and he died fifteen years afterwards in severe privation in a miserable garret in London. —*Bailey*, 554. Verily, "the way of transgressors is hard"; but surely the King might have done an act of grace in a graceful way. Grace with a death fright is scarcely worth having.

Gunpowder Plot, 1605. Our County seems to have had one representative in the Gunpowder Plot for the destruction of King and Parliament, for Henry Garnet, the Superior of the Jesuits in England, was one of the conspirators. He was educated at Rome, and became a very learned man, well versed in Mathematics, Professor of Philosophy and Hebrew, etc. He was a Notts. gentleman by birth, and Mr. Bailey suspects that he was one of the many sons of Richard Whalley, of Screveton—having a disguised name. At the trial the judge said "he was adorned by God and nature with many gifts and graces, if the grace of God had been joined with them." He was found guilty of traitorously conspiring to kill and overthrow, etc. He was sentenced

to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and on the scaffold he confessed to a guilty knowledge of the conspiracy, which he concealed, the object of the conspiracy being the overthrow of Protestantism in England, and the re-establishment of the Church of Rome.*

A Hiding Place. After the discovery it was believed that some of the conspirators were hidden in the house of a Mr. Habingdon, in Worcestershire, and after several days' search and watching by the officers of the law, four of the persons concerned in the plot were discovered secreted in different parts of the house. The house was thereupon partly pulled down, and on the eighth day Garnet was discovered concealed in a secret place in the chimney. He had with him some marmalade, and other sweetmeats; but was sustained by cordials, broths, and other nutritious warm drinks, sucked through a reed which was placed through a small hole in the chimney that backed to another chimney, and into the lady's chamber. The search was continued through eleven nights and days.—*Bailey.*

When we "please to remember, the fifth of November," we may think of not only Guy Fawkes, but also of Henry Garnet being eight days in the hole in the wall, and of his sad end, and we shall come to the conclusion that a simple life of candour and consideration for others is better than conspiracy and concealment, whatever may be the prospective reward, but involving the terrible risk of discovery and punishment.

Tyranny. The King developed a strange determination to reign as an absolute monarch, but his claim to have the power to dispense with ordinary law and usage, based upon his notions of divine right, came too late in the day. In Queen Elizabeth's day much had been put up with

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* Gunpowder Plot.—In a book recently published by the Religious Tract Society, entitled *A History of the Gunpowder Plot*, by Philip Sidney, a full account is given of Hy. Garnet, and a portrait, with the date 3rd May, 1606. It is stated that he was the son of a Schoolmaster at Nottingham, and was brought up a Protestant. He had many aliases, being known as Walley alias Darcey, alias Farmer, alias Roberts, alias Philips. The account of Garnet's discovery differs from that given. Sir Hy. Bromley appears to have been the Magistrate who inspected Hendlip Hall, the property of Mr. Abington. Garnet says they gave themselves up after being seven days and nights in continual pain, and they appeared like ghosts.

because of national danger, and in consideration of the Queen's age and services; but the people resented, and would not submit to such ideas from an imported King, who had several prominent bodily defects, being ill-made and weak-kneed, with an impediment in his speech, while at the same time he was very vain, conceited, cowardly, and otherwise objectionable. His habits, too, were coarse and sensual, with a total lack of dignity. Now he determined to subject all opposing forces to the royal will. The Puritans he would make conform; Proclamations should take the place of Acts of Parliament; duties on goods imported, and on various other articles, should be enforced without Parliamentary sanction. To raise money, peerages were sold, and illegal fines for various acts by individuals were imposed; the judges were bullied or dismissed; immorality was rife at Court; corruption to, and by, officials was general; the protests and remonstrances of Parliament were met by the King, with his own hand, tearing out the pages of the *Journal of the House*, which contained the record of their resolutions; and at length Prince Charles had to practically take the direction of affairs.

Charles I., 1625-1642. Charles I. was a very different character to his father, and in many respects superior, for he was temperate, chaste, serious, polished. As a husband and father, he was all that could be desired. He was a thorough lover of the Church of England. His defects were a want of candour, inability to make up his mind, duplicity, obstinacy, and a determination to exercise his kingly prerogative at all hazards, whether legal, moral, or otherwise.

When the King went with his Court through Worksop to Scotland to be crowned, he caused such rejoicing that the bells of Worksop Church rang for three days. He little thought that in a few years later he would be conducted over that same road by the Scotch Army as a prisoner.

The rejoicing throughout the country was great, for it was believed that he would grant reforms, and reign in a constitutional way.

When entertained by the Earl of Newcastle, it was said to be "in so wonderful a manner, and in such excess of feasting, as had scarce ever been known in England, and would still be thought very prodigious, if the same nobleman

had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more stupendous entertainment at his return from Scotland."—*Deering*, 219.

Coercion. To the great disappointment of all the people, Charles adopted all his father's evil ways of spending and enforcing money without Parliamentary sanction, and when Parliament withheld supplies without reforms, they were again and again dissolved. He therefore, in 1627, levied an enforced loan, and those men who refused to pay were impressed into the Army or Navy, or sent to prison; and this naturally excited indignation. Laud, afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury, and the clergy of his class, preached passive obedience, and that to withstand a king would involve disobedience to God.

Loans. In Dickinson's *History of Newark*, and in Bailey's *Annals of Notts.*, is given a copy of the "Secret instructions from Charles I. to the Commissioners of the loan in the County of Nottingham"; also "Instructions which our Commissioners for the loan of money unto us, in our Town of Nottingham, are exactly and effectually to observe and follow: Charles R." These instructions occupy eight pages, and, among other matters, require the commissioners appointed, themselves to set the example to others by lending the King the several amounts named in the appointment. They were then to cause persons to appear before them and assess them according to the amount of a previous assessment, so that a man assessed at £100 in lands, must lend to the King £100 in money; a man set at £100 in goods must lend 100 marks; or he that is set at £10 in goods must lend 20 nobles; and so *pro rata* for a greater or less sum. They were to issue warrants, and have them served by the constables, requiring the persons assessed to appear before them, and defaulters must appear before the Privy Council. If persons objected to pay, on the ground that Parliament had not been called, they must be reasoned with, and assured that by payment, Parliament was more likely to be called. Payment might be accepted, half in fourteen days, and half in three months. Every person must be dealt with separately, and not in the hearing of others, and those objecting must know that they thereby incurred the King's high displeasure, must be put on oath and examined, must swear to secrecy, and must be bound over to appear before the "privie councell" to answer his contempt. A list of such names must be sent to

the Privy Council. There are various other directions, under headings, until "Seventeenthly" appears to this precious document, demanding exactions without the authority of Parliament. The appeal for a loan was ill responded to, and generally resisted.

Deering also gives (p. 343) a copy of a printed circular letter delivered by Troopers in 1643 to various persons as a Message from the King, beginning: "Charles R. truly and well beloved, we greet you well," desiring the loan of twenty pounds or the value thereof in plate.

Remonstrance. Deering also gives (p. 342) a copy of a letter dated July 1, 1642, from the High Sheriff, and seventy-seven Knights and Gentlemen of Nottinghamshire, addressed to the two Members of Parliament for the County—Sir Thos. Hutchinson, and Robt. Sutton, Esq.—lamenting the unhappy differences between His Majesty and his Parliament, at which they stand amazed, for they see no danger of papists, or of foreign invasion, "and yet under these pretences there is great preparation of putting us in a position of defence, and a great necessity presented of settling the Militia, but we see more cause to fear the remedy than the disease." "The Houses of Parliament command one thing, the King forbids that command, and we are at a stand, and yet we are ever ready to yield obedience to all the known laws of the land, and we have ever been taught that all those laws made in Parliament consist of three estates, the Commons, Lords, and King, and we think it dangerous to untwist that triple cord, * * * and beside we have at the command of both houses taken the late protestation, wherein we have vowed to maintain the doctrine of the Church of England, his Majesty's royal person, honour, and estate, the priviledges of Parliament, and the liberties of the subject, and we shall endeavour to maintain every part and clause thereof respectively with our lives and fortunes." They express their full confidence in the King, and in the fulfilment of his "gracious promises of his future government according to the laws."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CIVIL WAR 1642-6.

Charles I. had reigned eleven years without convening a Parliament, but with the Star Chamber and High Commission, fines, penalties, monopolies, customs duties, confiscations, and the like followed. Ship money, which had in time of national danger been enforced in maritime towns for the cost of fitting out ships, was now in the time of peace extended by Laud and Wentworth into a general tax, to be imposed on the whole country. "Newark was in 1636 assessed for ship money at £120, but could raise only £50."—*C. Brown.* John Hampden thrilled the country by refusal to pay the ship money. At the same time Laud was forcing the Prayer Book upon the Scots, who rebelled, and formed the Solemn League and Covenant, and raised money to pay the cost of an army to fight, and the King was compelled to call a Parliament, which not being submissive was dissolved, to be followed shortly by another Parliament, which would not dissolve, for the pent up indignation of its members now burst out uncontrollably. The King's favourite minister, the Earl of Strafford, was impeached and beheaded. Archbishop Laud was sent to the Tower, where he lay for four years before he was beheaded. "The Grand Remonstrance" was drawn up and published, setting forth the efforts, difficulties, and dangers in the way of the Parliament. It did not seek to abolish Episcopacy, but to reduce the power of the Bishops. It was not revolutionary, but desired the observance of existing laws, and the due administration of justice, the appointment of ministers who possessed the confidence of Parliament, and so forth, and on the King's demand for the surrender to him of five Members of Parliament preparations for war began.

Nottinghamshire Landowners.

"Before the flame of the warre broke out in the top of the chimnies," Mrs. Hutchinson says, "the smoake ascended in every country (county)." Both parties had made active preparations, so that "every county had the civill warre, more or lesse, within itselfe. Some counties were in the beginning so wholly for the parliament, that the king's interest appear'd not in them; some so wholly for the king, that the godly, for these generally were the parliament's friends, were forc'd to

forsake their habitations, and seeke other shelters; of this sort was Nottinghamshire. All the nobillity and gentry, and their dependents, were generally for the King." She speaks of the Earl of Newcastle, (he was the last of this title in the Cavendish family,) as a great prince who had "ran himselfe much in debt." The Earl of Kingston (of the Thoresby Estate) "a man of vaste estate, and not lesse covetousnesse, who devided his sonns betweene both parties, and conceal'd himselfe, till at length his fate drew him to declare himselfe absolutely on the king's side." "Lord Chesterfield and all his famely were highly of the royall party; so was Lord Chaworth; the Earle of Clare was very often of both parties, and I think never advantag'd either. All the popish gentry were wholly for the king." Sir John Biron, and all his brothers, "were all passionately the Kings. Sr John Savill, a man of vast estate was the like; so were Sr Gervas Eyre, Sr John Digby, Sr Matthew Palmer, Sr Thomas Williamson, Sr Roger Cowper, Sr W. Hickman, Sr Hugh Cartwright, Sr T. Willoughby, Sr Thomas Smith, Sr Thomas Blackwell, Markham, Perkins, Tevery, Pearce, Palme, Wood, Sanderson, Moore, Mellish, Butler, with divers others."

Parliamentarians. "Of the Parliament men, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, and Sr Gervas Clifton forsooke the parliament, went to the king, and executed his commission of array. Mr. William Stanhope left the parliament. Mr. William Pierrepont second sonne of the Earl of Kingston was of the parliament. Sr Thomas Hutchinson continued with the parliament. Mr. Henry Ireton..... having had an education in the strictest way of godlinesse, and being a very grave and solid person, a man of good learning, greate understanding, and other abillities, to which was ioyn'd a willing and zealous heart to the cause and his country, he was the chiefe promoter of the parliaments interest in the country (county)." Referring to the Town of Nottingham, Mrs. Hutchinson says there were "more malignants (? Royalists) than well affected." Of seven Aldermen only one owned the parliament. "All the devout people of the towne were very vigorous and ready to offer their lives and famelies, but their was not halfe the halfe of the towne that consisted of these; the ordinary, civill sort of people coldly adher'd to the better, but all the debosht, and such as had liv'd upon the bishops persecuting courts, and bene the lacqueys of proiectors and monopolizers and the like, where all bitterly malignant; yet God awed them."

Useful Reformers. It should be stated that William Pierrepont, Esq., second son of the Earl of Kingston, had secured the passing of an Act requiring annual parliaments, crippling the power of the King with regard to dissolving parliament in less than fifty days, and Denzil Holles of Haughton, second son of the Earl of Clare, had taken a prominent part with Pym, Hampden, and others, in restraining the royal prerogative, and extending the liberties of the people, for which he was accused of high treason.

Levies. On March 4th, 1642, parliament made an ordinance for the speedy raising and levying of money for the maintenance of the parliamentary army, by a weekly assessment. By this ordinance the weekly assessment of the county and borough of Nottingham was fixed at £187 10s. 0d., a sum which shows the heavy burdens that had to be borne on both sides. And these terrible burdens had to be borne in addition to raids, exactions, and looting, to which the people were subject, sometimes from their so called friends, and sometimes from their enemies, and sometimes from both in succession.—*Bailey*, 659.

An Awful Position. Let us stand still for a minute, and contemplate the awfulness of the position in our town and county at this time. Here the people are hopelessly divided into two hostile camps, the one regarding themselves as bound to the King, as being the only way to secure law, order, and religion, as they view it; the others feeling themselves bound to oppose the King, as being the only way to secure civil and religious liberty, of which they are deprived, and these differences cannot be settled by a court of law, or by arbitration; and neither party will wait or hear of concession, and they are going to fight, and seek to kill each other, and by fines and imprisonments, by injury to or abstraction of property they will impoverish and harass one another; and hearts will break, and families be divided, and homes be destroyed, and children starve, and obedience to the laws for securing life, liberty, chastity and property be suspended, and hell be on earth. If angels can weep, this is enough to make them.

A Proclamation. On August 12th, 1642, the King issued a proclamation to all subjects residing on the north side of the Trent, or within twenty miles southward thereof, to assemble at Nottingham on the 22nd of August,

"where we intend to erect our *Standard Royal*, in our just and necessary defence, and whence we resolve to advance forward for the suppression of the said Rebellion, and the protection of our good subjects among them, from the burthen of the slavery and insolence under which they cannot but groan until they be relieved by us." Those that came armed the King promised to at once take into his pay, and at the same time he asked for loans of money, which he would repay as soon as God enabled him.

Standard Hill. On the wall of the General Hospital, on Standard Hill, at Nottingham, there is a tablet which reads: "On a mound about 60 yards to the rear of this tablet Charles I. raised his Standard, August 25th, 1642." He had set it up on a tower in the Castle three days earlier. This banner, Bishop Trollope says, was painted by Robert Large, of Nottingham, at the order of Lord Beaumont, and was attached to a long red staff, and next this was displayed St. George's Cross, and on the red ground of the remainder the Royal Arms, and the motto: "Give Cæsar his due." It was pennon shaped, cloven at the end, and from its great length must have formed a conspicuous object as seen from the Town below. "Sir William Penniman expressed the opinion that it would be a good deed to burn down the Town below, because its people had not come forth to serve their King." Sir Edmund Verney, the Knight-Mareshal and Standard-bearer of England, when the Standard was set up, stepped forward and passionately exclaimed that "they who would take that Standard from him must first wrest his soul from his body." Then the drums and trumpets sounded, and the troops shouted: "God save the King!" The King commenced the War in Nottingham, apparently because of its central position, and his belief that the people would rally to his support, but they did not.

On the above date the King sent from Nottingham a message to both Houses of Parliament by the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, and others, the answer to which was that until the King's Proclamations were withdrawn, and the Standard taken down, they could not consistently with the public trust reposed in them, and the general good of the nation, agree to the terms proposed by His Majesty.

A Warrant. Four days after the King had sent the message of peace to the Parliament he issued an Order "from our Court at Nottingham" to all Commissioners,

Sheriffs, Mayors, Justices of the Peace, etc., throughout England and Wales, directing them to apprehend the Earl of Essex, who was leading the Parliamentary forces, and his confederates; to kill and slay all the forces opposed to them; and to disarm all Popish recusants, ill-affected persons, Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, who had certified their ill disposition to the peace and government of the Kingdom.

The King left Nottingham on September 13th.

Clifton. In the *Clifton Book*, by the Rev. Rosslyn Bruce, M.A., a copy is given of a letter written from Nottingham by King Charles, August 31st, 1642, and addressed "to our trusty and well-beloved Sir Gervase Clifton, Knt.," asking for "all the armes you shall think fit to send Vs"; in response to which there was within three days sent a number of saddles, bridles, pistols, muskets, spikes, etc. For this, and other help rendered to the King, Sir Gervase had to pay dearly, for he was afterwards by the Parliamentarians fined £4,000—a very large sum in those days. This he paid by four instalments, during the years 1649 and 1650, "as a fine for his delinquency to the Parliament."

Gainsborough. All the horse that had been raised in Nottinghamshire on behalf of the Parliamentary forces, together with the foot companies, marched to Gainsborough (1643), where Colonel Cromwell had his first battle, and was victorious, killing the King's General, Sir Charles Cavendish; the Earl of Newcastle arriving too late, but just in time to see the rout.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE CIVIL WAR—Continued.

Mrs. Hutchinson takes two volumes to tell the local history of the war, chiefly so far as her husband was concerned. Mr. Bailey gives considerable space in his *Annals of Nottinghamshire* to the record. We can barely skim the report. Mrs. Hutchinson—who, by the bye, was a thorough

woman in her way of looking at things, and a strong partisan —tells how her husband saved Nottingham from being at the commencement of the war deprived by Lord Newark of its gunpowder, but Mr. Bailey doubts the accuracy of the story. Mrs. Hutchinson tells of the appointment of local War Committees, and their operations; of Captain Ireton's troop of Horse; of Newark's thorough adherence to the King, backed by nearly all the County landowners, and Nottingham's decision for Parliament — Colonel Hutchinson becoming Governor of Nottingham Castle; of the sorties from one town to the other, and so on. Mr. Bailey gives (p. 683) particulars of an assessment made by the Corporation of Nottingham towards war expenses, 438 persons being assessed, and £540 realised, which was followed a month later by another assessment for repairs of bulwarks, lights, and coals for the night guard.

Works. The works constructed about the Town were of a very extensive character, so that it would require 3,000 men to defend them, and these could not be had for the purpose, so all the ordnance (fourteen pieces) were removed into the Castle, which was strong naturally, "but the buildings were very ruinous and uninhabitable, neither affording room to lodge soldiers, nor provisions." Many people took up their residence in the Castle, and their families were lodged in the villages, much poverty and wretchedness being endured. Colonel Hutchinson made a fine appeal to his men that they must be prepared to go upon hard duty, fierce assaults, poor and spare diet, perhaps famine, and want of all comfortable accommodation, with the hazard of losing their lives, all of which for his own part he was resolved on.

One night six hundred Cavaliers reached the Town in the dead of night, seized the sentries, took possession of the Town, and it was not until the next morning that the Governor realised the position, when, calling out the garrison, he found that not more than one third of the men had remained through the night in their quarters; two hundred were absent, of whom eighty were taken prisoners, and there were fewer than one hundred men in the fort. The Newark men had taken possession of St. Nicholas' Church, from the top of the tower of which they poured musket balls on the Castle men. The houses of all the Roundheads were ransacked and plundered; the prisoners were confined in pens in the Market Place, and were afterwards removed to Trent Bridge Fort.

For five days the Cavaliers held the Town, but assistance arrived from other towns, and the Newark men departed; the new visitors from Derbyshire resorting to plunder, and an attack upon the Trent Bridge Fort had to be abandoned.

Newark. Newark early declared for the King, who put four hundred men into the Castle, and thus commanded the passage over the river, strengthening the Town with earthworks, and then with a further force making excursions into Lincolnshire, to Melton, to Oxford, Northampton, Ely, Nottingham, and elsewhere. The four hundred men for the Castle were increased to four thousand for active work.

Trent Bridge. In a fight at Trent Bridge when attacked by forces from Newark, fifty prisoners were taken, ten killed; three hundred horses, two hundred arms, and five pieces of ordnance were taken; Bridgford was plundered, and the men inhabitants taken prisoners. Incendiary fires occurred in Nottingham, "insomuch that the weomen were forced to walke by fiftie in a night to prevent the burning." On a certain Saturday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, men were seized at Trent Bridge "disguised like markett woemen, with pistolls, long knives, hatchetts, daggers, and greate pieces of iron about them," with provision to assassinate the guards of the bridge. Trent Bridge Fort being lost, one had to be made on the Leen Bridge, and two arches had to be pulled up, but both were afterwards gained and repaired.

Trent Bridge Fort. Colonel Hutchinson determined to storm the Fort at Trent Bridge in possession of the Royalists, at a time when they had been drawn off for an expedition into Lincolnshire, and for that purpose took a survey of the situation from the top of St. Mary's Church. The Fort was attacked, and after five days the Royalists evacuated, leaving considerable quantities of sheep, coals, oats, hay, lead, etc., which had been taken from the townsmen.

St. Peter's Church. The Newark men got into the Town again on 15th January, 1644, and took possession of St. Peter's Church, there being one thousand Cavaliers in the Town, and beyond the Trent were the forces from Belvoir and Wiverton. They had come to demand possession of the Castle, but were repulsed, the foot soldiers being almost up to the middle in snow.

Muskham Bridge. Extensive arrangements were made by the Parliamentarians to attack Newark by forces from Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, and elsewhere, who were, however, completely routed at Muskham Bridge, and the Parliamentary army lost four thousand stand of arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and about fifty barrels of gunpowder. Prince Rupert appears to have acted with great recourse and moderation.

Persecution. It is not to the credit of Colonel Hutchinson that he at the "instigation of the ministers and godly people" imprisoned some of his chief cannoneers "for separating from public worship, and keeping little conventicles in their own chambers," although they "were otherwise honest, peaceable, and very zealous, and faithful to the cause, but the ministers were so unable to suffer their separation and spreading of their opinions, that the Governor was forced to commit them, yet when this great danger was over he thought it not prudent to keep them discontented, and then employ them, and therefore set them at liberty, for which there was a great outcry against him as a favourer of Separatists." Poor human nature! Alike faulty in governor, ministers, and godly people!

There were attacks made from Nottingham upon Royalist troops at Syerston, Elston, Thurgarton, Southwell, and elsewhere. Newark was for the third time besieged, and famine and disease, and the plague, did their awful work, but a relief party came by way of Leicester and Melton, and though severely attacked, managed to convey food to the Newark garrison, and a relay of five hundred dragoons. In 1645, the plague was very prevalent in various parts of the County, trade was suspended, agriculture neglected, famine, wasting, bloodshed, rapine, and all other ills prevailed.

Trent Bridge Again. On a Sunday in May, 1645, a party from Newark stormed the Fort at Trent Bridge; the Town was in consternation; no Sunday was kept, and had the force proceeded to attack the Town, it must have surrendered, for Colonel Hutchinson was in London defending his character, which seems to have been unjustly assailed.

"After the defeat at Naseby, the broken forces of the Royalists mostly repaired to Newark, now the best and

strongest garrison which remained to the King." It was now determined by Colonel Hutchinson to clear Shelford and Wyverton.

Shelford. The men in charge of Shelford got on the Church tower and fired on the attacking force, but straw was obtained, and fired, and the company smoked out. Afterwards the governor and about two hundred of the garrison were slain, no quarter being given them, about one hundred and forty others being made prisoners. Colonel Hutchinson does not shine in this want of clemency, judging by modern ideas.

OLD GATEWAY, WYVERTON.

From "A Cavalier Stronghold," by permission of Mrs. Chaworth Musters.

Wyverton. Mrs. Chaworth Musters has written a book—*A Cavalier Stronghold: a Romance of the Vale of Belvoir*—in which she has collected a number of local traditions and weaved them into a narrative. The stronghold is the ancient manor house at Wyverton, formerly called the

Castle, a building with round turrets at the angles, and which was guarded by a moat, a couple of earthworks, or other defences, with "covert way," or sunk road. This house was held by the Royalists, and after the siege of Shelford would have been stormed, but submitted upon terms.

Surrender. The King, after the loss of his cause at Naseby, came to Newark, went to the "White Hart" at Tuxford (on Oct. 12th, 1645), then to Welbeck, where he heard of the Scotch army advancing to Newark, upon which he returned and abode at the Old Palace, at Southwell, from which he had to flee on a force advancing from Nottingham. There was now the Scottish army at Newark, the head-quarters of the General being at Kelham Hall. The King, meanwhile, went by way of the Trent, *via* Belvoir, to his last effort at Oxford, whence returning, and slipping away in disguise, he on the 4th day of May arrived at the "Saracen's Head," at Southwell (then called the "King's Head"—a name which was for obvious reasons changed). Here, in the dining room, the King sent for and met the Scottish Army Commissioners, and dined with them, and then went under an escort to Kelham Hall, where he signed an order for the surrender of Newark, and after two days he was marched along with the Scottish army towards Newcastle. "From this time his Majestie found himselfe entered upon a state off thorough captivitie in which he experienced afterwards no other varietie but that off frequently changing his jail and jailers, till the time of his unhappy execution." When he had spent eight months in vain hopes and fruitless propositions at Newcastle, he was delivered up to the Parliament for four hundred thousand pounds. "The Parliament in their turn were obliged to resign him to the armie, and the armie, after 2 years of imprisonment, brought him ignominiously to the scaffold."

Mrs. Hutchinson suggests that the King did the worst thing he possibly could have done, not only in giving himself up into the hands of a hired army, who sold him, but that had he given himself into the hands of the English Parliament it would have been their ruin, for the Presbyterian and Independent factions would at once have divided, whereas by his action an open rupture was prevented.

Cromwell. Cromwell went to Southwell in 1648. "He intended to have taken up his residence in the Palace, but finding that it had been rendered unfit by the

Scotch soldiers, he contented himself with that apartment att the Inn which had before been occupied by the King." He then marched northward through Mansfield.

Destruction. After the surrender of the King, Parliament ordered all the places of strength in the Midland Counties to be dismantled. So Newark Castle was destroyed. The old Palace at Southwell suffered in like manner. The Minster was saved through the interposition of Edward Cludd, who had settled in the neighbourhood. Nottingham Castle was favoured, owing to the Town having aided the Parliamentary party, and so was kept for a garrison; but in 1650 Colonel Hutchinson procured an Order for the demolition of the works, and the Corporation were pleased to be relieved of charges for the garrison. Cromwell, however, coming through Nottingham, and seeing what had been done, was highly displeased.

Death. As a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, the King, while negotiating with the Parliament, was carrying on intrigues with his partisans in England and Scotland, which brought on what was called the second Civil war, and the invasion of England by Hamilton, whose army Cromwell destroyed near Preston. The soldiery now clamoured for what they called justice on the King, and Cromwell and the heads of the army, probably despairing of any reliable arrangement with the Monarch, in whose veracity they had lost all confidence, decided to comply with their demand, brought the King before a tribunal, whose proceedings must be called a sham trial, followed by the signing of the death warrant.

Charles is called the Martyr, and such he was, but he was not a martyr for his religion, but to his profound conviction of the Divine Rights of Kings. Kings have divine rights, and they have divine obligations. God has joined the two together, and woe be to the man who puts them asunder. The people, in like manner, have both the rights and obligations of obedience to law and order, and the security of good administration, and the protection of life, liberty, property, and the general public welfare. When the rulers and the ruled co-operate, the result is a happy king and a happy people; but when either of them ignore their duties, and a conflict ensues, the weakest must, whether justly or unjustly, go to the wall.

NEWARK CASTLE.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REGICIDES.

As a Town and County we had much to do with the beginnings of the Civil War, and with its termination; and we had more than our fair share of the responsibility for the death of the King. Four of our local men signed the death warrant. These were Colonel Hutchinson, General Ireton, Major-General Whalley, and Gilbert Millington. In addition, one of the signatories was Colonel Goffe, who married Whalley's daughter, was under his influence, and shared his banishment; and further, Colonel Hacker, one of our local men, had the carrying out of the death sentence. Bailey's Annals erroneously calls this fifteen per cent. of those who signed the death warrant, fifty-nine in number, being less than one half (133) of the commissioners appointed. There can be little doubt that all those who took the awful responsibility of the act did so under the belief that the fate was merited, and, if not, that it was a less evil for the country that one man should die, rather than that there should be continual conspiracies on the King's behalf, and that in their opinion no reliance could be placed upon the King's word or engagements. But when all has been said that can be said in that direction, this is one of those awful events to which the words commonly attributed to Prince Talleyrand may be applied—"It was worse than a crime: it was a blunder"—for it sent a moral shock throughout Europe; it frightened sober, thoughtful people at home; and it prepared the way for the Restoration, involving for the time being the undoing of all that had been done, with the flooding of the country with a generation of vice, and terminating with a revolution forty years afterwards. Ireton died before the Restoration; Hutchinson died in Sandown Castle; Millington was tried, and condemned, but not executed; Whalley and Goffe fled, and died in hiding; Hacker was hanged, drawn, and quartered; and all their estates were, as far as practicable, confiscated.

Colonel Hutchinson. Colonel John Hutchinson, the son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, was born at Nottingham in 1616. He studied at Cambridge, and married, in 1638, Lucy, daughter of Sir Allan Aspley, settled at Owthorpe, and at length decided to take the Parliamentary side. He became Governor of Nottingham Castle, and held it

until the close of the Civil War. He informed the Parliament of an offer made to him by the Earl of Newcastle to pay him ten thousand pounds, and to make him the best lord in the country, and Governor of the Castle, the grant to be to him and his heirs, if he would deliver the Castle up for the King, but the offer was refused. In 1646, he was sent up by Nottingham to fill his father's place as a Member of Parliament. He sat in the first Council of State, but, becoming alarmed at Cromwell's ambitious schemes, he withdrew.

One hundred years ago the beautiful memoirs written by his wife for the benefit of his children were published, having been, from prudential motives, kept in manuscript until that time.

When the Restoration took place, Colonel Hutchinson's name was included in a so-called "Act of Oblivion"—a kind of forgive and forget business—but when it was discovered that he was one of the signatories to the death warrant of the King, it was determined to punish him in other ways. Claims were made against him; he was repeatedly examined; his estate was mortgaged, and he was in debt, and could not sell his estate; his house was plundered; his pictures were "commandeered." He was required to go to Newark, and thence to London, and sent to the Tower, where he was harshly treated, and thence sent to Sandown Castle, near Folkestone, "a lamentable old ruin'd place, allmost a mile distant from the towne, the roomes all out of repaire, not weather-free, no kind of accommodation either for lodging or diet, or any conveniency of life." A bleak, unglazed, damp, vermin-infested place, he soon caught the ague, which he bore with patience and resignation. The monument at Owthorpe says: "He died at Sandowne Castle, in Kent, after 11 months harsh and strict imprisonment—without crime or accusation—upon the 11th day of Sept., 1664, in the 49th yeare of his age, full of ioy, in assured hope of a glorious resurrection."

A descendant of Colonel Hutchinson—Miss Grace Hutchinson—recently lectured in Nottingham, and from the circular announcing the lecture the following extract is made: "The old hall was in the possession of the Hutchinson family for seven hundred years, but was sold more than a hundred years ago, and not a vestige of it remains. A curious incident of poetical justice is the fact that the solicitor who had to do with the sale absconded with the ten thousand pounds realized, and attempted to reach a foreign shore, but his ship was wrecked, and went down with all on board."

COLONEL HUTCHINSON'S HOUSE AT OWTHORPE.

From "A Cavalier Stronghold," by permission of Mrs. Chaworth Musters.

General Ireton. General Henry Ireton was born in 1611, in the house to the west of the church at Attenborough. He was entered as a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1626, and from his great proficiency in learning was admitted, when only sixteen years of age, to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He removed to the Middle Temple, where he studied law, and continued in its profession ten years before he joined the army. He married Cromwell's daughter, Bridget. At the commencement of the War he was one of seventy-five who each undertook to raise a troop of horse, and he commanded the left wing of the Parliamentary army at the battle of Naseby.

At Hampton Court he had a conversation with the King, who was then a prisoner, in which the King used the expression: "I shall play my game as well as I can"; to which Ireton replied: "If your Majesty have a game to play, you must give us liberty also to play ours."

He had the reputation of being intrepid, generous, and upright. "Yet that which is best worthy of love in thy husband," wrote Cromwell to his daughter, "is that of the image of Christ which he bears; look on that, and love it best." He became Lord Deputy in Ireland, and died of the plague, at Limerick, in 1650, when a pension of £2,000 per annum was settled upon his widow and children. His body was brought in state to London, and buried in a costly tomb in Henry VII's chapel, but after the Restoration it was dragged from its resting place, hung on a gibbet at Tyburn, and the trunkless head fixed on a pole.

He was the author of several public documents that indicate an enlightened mind, and fairness of principle, advocating reasonable reforms. In his *Agreement for the People* occurs this passage: "All persons professing religion, however differing in judgment from the doctrine, discipline, and worship publicly set forth, to be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, according to their consciences, so they abuse not this liberty, to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the public peace." This definition shows that he was ahead of his times.

Gilbert Millington. Gilbert Millington's father had a grant to him from King James I. the reversion of the house and site of Felley Priory, near Annesley, at the yearly rental of £17 3s. 0d. He had tenements in Brun-

nesley (Brinsley) parish. He was Member for Nottingham in the Long and following Parliaments. He was Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of plundered Ministers. He is often mentioned in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs, but in a disparaging manner, as she speaks of his "flattering" "tricks"; he was "insolent," etc. She says that his first wife was "a religious, matronly gentlewoman, but she dying (in 1644, and buried at Greasley), he, a man of sixty, professing religion, married an alehouse wench, a flirtish girl of sixteen!" Yet he seems to have retained the confidence of his fellow townsmen. Perhaps the "flirtish girl" settled down, and made a good wife after all.

He was tried at the Old Bailey, with fourteen others, charged with "compassing and imagining the death of the late King Charles I. of happy memory." He made an abject apology. "I will confess myself guilty every way; I was awed by the present power then in being." He was sentenced to death, but his punishment was commuted to imprisonment for life. His property was seized for the Crown, but *Thoroton* says, in reference to Felley: "Yet I think it remains to Edward Millington, his son, or to Edward's son, his grandchild." He died at Jersey, six years afterwards, being about seventy-six years of age.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE REGICIDES—Continued.

Colonel Hacker. Colonel Hacker was born at East Bridgford. He is described in the Royalist papers as "the regicidal parliamentarian." He attended the unfortunate King Charles to his last scene, for which he was afterwards tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, and his estates were confiscated; yet his two brothers were active partisans in the Royal cause, in which one of them was slain. His brother, Captain Hacker, was Governor of the new Fort at Newark, and the Rev. J. Hutchinson says he "could not obtain the pardon of Colonel Hacker, nor prevent the confiscation of his family estate, which was granted to the Duke of York, the King's brother, from whom he was obliged to ransom it at a high rate; it lay at Colston Bassett, joining to Owthorpe."

The death warrant signed by the Members of the High Court for the trial of the King, was addressed "To Collonell ffrancis Hacker," and to two others, "and to any of them," and recited a "sentence pronounced against him (the King) by this Court to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body," and authorizing and requiring them to carry out the sentence. "And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant." It, however, did not prove so. Poor Mrs. Hacker, who lived at Car Colston in the old Hall, now a farmhouse occupied by Mr. Wilkinson, took up the warrant to the House of Lords, thinking it would save her husband, he being a military officer acting under orders; but it had no avail, except that it secured the doom of Colonel Hutchinson, against whom, when his signature was seen as one to the document, the fury of his enemies became uncontrollable. The counsel for the prosecution for the Crown at Hacker's trial said that the prisoner set his hand to the warrant to the executioner for the execution, or, in other words, acting under the authority given to him, gave written instructions to another for the decapitation. "Prisoner, what do you say for yourself?" was asked by the Lord Chief Baron; the answer to which was: "Truly, my lord, I have no more to say for myself, but that I was a soldier, and under command, and what I did was by that commission you have read. . . . . My desire hath been ever for the welfare of my country, and that the civil power might be upheld."

His execution was on the 19th of October. He declared to several of his friends a little before he suffered, that the greatest trouble he had upon his spirit was that he had formerly borne too great a prejudice in his heart toward the good people of God who differed from him in judgment. He was borne up under the comfortable assurance of pardon and acceptance by God, through Christ. "He was," said a spectator at the execution, "a man of just and honest conversation among men, and one that desired to walk blameless in the sight of God."

Major-General Whalley.

Major-General Whalley was of an old Nottinghamshire family, whose seat was at Kirketon Hall, Screveton, near Bingham. In Screveton Church is a large monument, one of the finest in the County, consisting of an altar tomb of alabaster, and along the edge of the slab is an inscription: "Here lyeth Ric Whalleye, esquire who lived att the age of 84 yeares and

ended this life the 23 of Nove'ber 1583." This Richard Whalley was famous for having no less than twenty-five children, and in the panels of the tomb are representations of the three wives, with their children behind them. He was a Steward of the Lord Protector Somerset, in the time of Edward VI. Among his descendants was Richard Whalley, whose second wife was Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, and aunt of Oliver Cromwell, and this "Aunt Fanny's" second son was Edward, who is said to have been apprenticed to a woollen draper, but contrary to the sentiments of his family, he took arms in the Parliamentary service at the commencement of the Civil War, and soon distinguished himself by his courage and military talents. At Naseby, in 1645, he charged and defeated two divisions of Langdale's Horse, and was thereupon made a Colonel. In 1647 he received the thanks of the House, and £100 for his brilliant action at Banbury; and he had granted to him, for arrears of pay due, the Manor of Flawborough, being part of the estate of the Marquis of Newcastle.

Whalley's responsibility in regard to the King was that when the latter was confined at Hampton Court, he was committed to the custody and charge of Whalley, and to the King's death warrant his signature was the fourth, being the next after Cromwell. He was afterwards wounded at the Battle of Dunbar, and was in Scotland with the rank of Commissary-General. In the "Barebones" Parliament, he carried away the Mace, and his son-in-law, Colonel Goffe, led the musqueteers who drove the Members from their seats. When the army had full control he was made Major-General over the Counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, Leicester, and Warwick. He represented Nottinghamshire in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1655, and was made one of Cromwell's Lords.

Flight. Upon the Restoration he fled, and a reward of one hundred pounds was offered for his apprehension, dead or alive, and Goffe was included in the same advertisement. They both landed at Boston, in the United States, where they were heartily welcomed, and, both being earnest Puritans, were admitted as communicants at the churches, and mixed freely with the people until they were noticed by some Royalists. A story is told of how Goffe defeated a fencing-master from England, who had challenged

any man in the Colonies to play at swords with him, when Goffe, dressed as a country-looking fellow, accepted the challenge, having only a broomstick instead of a sword, and a cheese, wrapped in a napkin, for a shield. Several rounds were passed, when the fencing-master made an adroit thrust, which was received by the cheese, while he was struck by the broomstick, which so enraged him that he attacked with a broad sword, only to be laughed at. Whalley and Goffe had to flee, for a mandate arrived for their apprehension, and they lived some time in a cave, on a stone of which they inscribed the words: "Opposition to tyrants is obedience to God."

Neck Bridge. On one occasion when they were out of their place of shelter their pursuers actually passed over a bridge under which they were hiding. From this incident the bridge was named "Neck Bridge," over Mill River. Thence they removed to a place called Hadley, where occurred a transaction referred to by Sir Walter Scott, in the 14th chapter of *Peveril of the Peak*, where under the name of Richard Whalley, and in Note I., he refers to "Whalley, the Regicide," and says the story afforded the justly celebrated American novelist, Mr. Cooper, the materials from which he compiled one of his impressive narratives. Condensed, the tale is as follows:—The 1st September, 1675 (Morris says 1676), was observed as a day of fasting and prayer, for there was war with the King of Spain, in which all the Indian tribes in New England were involved. While the inhabitants of Hadley were in church they were surprised by a band of savages. The men who, as was customary, had their arms with them rushed out, but the number of Indians was so overwhelming that a total massacre was expected, and there was quite a panic. The howling of the Indians, the shrieks of the women, the discharge of the firearms, and other noises, gave the alarm to strangers who were concealed in the pastor's house, and just as the Colonists were yielding their last standing ground, there rushed on to the scene "an ancient man," with hoary locks, of a most venerable and dignified aspect, and in a dress widely differing from that of the population around him. Brandishing a ponderous sword, he, with a firm voice, and an example of undaunted resolution, called upon them in the name of God to rally. Re-animated by the extraordinary appearance and manner of this mysterious apparition, they again formed in order; the attack was renewed, and the savages totally routed.

Vanished. "When the battle was ended, and whilst the people were engaged in mutual congratulations, and thanksgiving to heaven for their deliverance, the stranger disappeared, and no person among the crowd knew whence he had come, or whither he had gone." The people believed him to be an angel from heaven, but years afterwards it transpired that Whalley and Goffe were lodged in the house of Pastor Russell, and the Stranger was one of them.—*Bailey*, p. 898. Three years afterwards Whalley died, and Goffe went into Connecticut, and afterwards to New York, and thence to Rhode Island.

The Story of the Regicides forms one of twenty-five Tales told by Charles Morris for the instruction of American young people. Substantially the facts are stated as above, but the author believes that Whalley died in the year following the raid. Years afterwards his bones were found in a grave in the cellar of Mr. Russell's house. That house contained many rooms and closets, one of them in the garret had doors opening into two chambers, while its floor boards were so laid that they could be slipped aside, and admit to a dark under closet, from which there was a passage way to the cellar.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE PURITANS

The Puritans rose in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They were devout members of the Church of England, not a few of them being clergymen, who were acquainted with the superstitions and corruptions of the old and more recent ecclesiastical arrangements, and the formalism and self-seeking of many clerical office-hunters; and they earnestly desired to get into a more spiritual atmosphere. The art of printing had placed the Scriptures within their reach (the pocket editions were three inches thick, with heavy bindings and strong clasps), and had brought before their minds the highest yearnings of men of past ages who were, as individuals, seekers after God. Was it not possible to have the Kingdom of God not only within them, but also to have it made visible, both in the Church and the State?

The Mystics of the olden time cultivated communion with God, and all spiritual aids from the quietness of nature, and therefore sought solitude in monasteries, and out-of-the-way places. The Puritan drank in deeply the Scriptural ideas and teaching of holding communion with God, it might be in private, but for public use; with God in the private chamber, or bower, but for man in the field, the market, or the camp. He set God before him, viewed himself as having God at his right hand, and thus, being at the left hand of God, he could not be moved; for God had shown to him the path of life, the presence of God was to him the fulness of joy, and he went out to discharge the duties of life with a confidence that nothing could shake. He had stood in the presence of God; he feared not to stand before man. He might be a very disagreeable person, as some thought. He often-times, doubtless, seemed coarse, for he cared little for the refinements of life, for its social pleasures, for its pastimes. He despised church pictures and images, forms and ceremonies. He wanted reality, and nothing else. Had he been met with a sympathetic heart and hand by those who were at the head of the Church, he would have continued within its fold, but in the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, sympathy, forbearance and conciliation were the last things thought of. Men must conform, or go down, or out they must go; and so the Puritans went out.

Laud. The Puritan clergy under Laud tried hard to retain their position, but he made war on them without mercy. They were rebuked, suspended, their licenses withdrawn; they were cited before the Ecclesiastical Courts, not allowed to act as private chaplains, nor to have marginal bibles; they were forced to conduct the Church service in the manner he had prescribed, to observe sacerdotal forms, ceremonies, and doctrines, to read in church the proclamation as to the *Book of Sports*, with expulsion and deprivation as the penalty. Lauds life-work may be described as the "manufacturing of Dissenters by wholesale," and the end of it was that he lost his head.

As time went on their numbers increased; they became a party; persecutions, fines, imprisonments, embittered them. They were joined by others who were dissatisfied with the Government, but who were merely partisans—self-seekers—who adopted the Puritan form without the spirit; with them, but not of them.

Ironsides. The Ironsides of Cromwell would probably in these quiet days be regarded as very undesirable companions, but they were a national asset of enormous value in those critical times. A regiment of a thousand horse, consisting of honest, sober, Christian men, with whom social distinctions and religious conformity were made subservient to competence and integrity; stalwart and well-seasoned yeomen, and workers capable of endurance; men of religion, with consciences, fearing God, and having no other fear; who prayed and sang psalms with mighty earnestness in camp, while others were in revels; with whom a woman was as safe in camp as in her own house; whose men, if found looting or stealing, were handed over to the enemy to be punished—if drunk, were set in the stocks, or worse. These are the class of men that a nation wants in an emergency. "Truly," said Cromwell, "they were never beaten, and whenever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually." "I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain, that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than what you call a gentleman, and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed." And so he justified himself, and anticipated by two hundred and fifty years the verdict we give of the quality of men shown to be necessary in the recent South African, the Japanese, and all other Wars.

It is not to be wondered at, when social discontent was rampant, and liberties were trampled under foot, and illegal imposts were demanded, that there rose up a class of men—the foam on a disturbed sea—who knew no restraint but their own interests; place-hunters, and self-seekers; and another class of sanctified humbugs, whining out canting religious phrases by the hour, and violent men, who, when directed to destroy idolatrous and superstitious objects, smashed everything before them, regardless of art or beauty, custom or use. Such an upheaval, however, must be judged by its aims, its best men, and by its abiding results; but not by its worst adherents.

Colonel Hutchinson. Fortunately we have a full description of a local Puritan—Colonel Hutchinson, written by his wife, in order to place on record for the benefit of his eight children (some of whom were young when their father died) a description of his character. Twenty-five pages are thus occupied. Not many wives or widows in our City or County could write what occupies

twenty-five pages of printed matter describing the characters of their husbands. It may be the absence of a worthy subject is more pronounced than the lack of capacity! We will look only at those points which show that one of the early Puritans was not necessarily rough, headstrong, and disagreeable, as some would have us believe. We are told that he had "a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity, and majesty, mixed with sweetness." "He could dance admirably well." "He had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman." "He had great love to music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly." "He had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts." He was fond of hawking, "everything that was necessary for him to do, he did with delight. As soon as he had improved his natural understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first knowledge he laboured for was a knowledge of God," and then "laid a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ." "He had wit enough to have been subtil and cunning, but he so abhorred dissimulation that I cannot say he was either." "Never a man had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteem for a wife. So liberal was he to her, and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of severed purses. He would never receive an account of anything she expended. So constant was he in his love, that when she ceased to be young and lovely, he began to show more fondness." "He was never surprised, amased, nor confounded with great difficulties or dangers." "He understood well, and as well performed when he undertook it, the military art in all the parts of it." "He was as free from avarice as from pride and ambition." "He loved hospitality as much as he hated riot. His whole life was the rule of temperance in meat, drink, apparel, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoyed." "Wise and virtuous women he loved, and delighted in all pure, holy, unblamable conversation with them"—and so on, to the end of the chapter. Of course, it is possible that the portrait drawn by a loving hand may present too favourable a picture, or that the subject may have been much above the average.

Visionaries. "The Puritans were Visionaries." So be it. "Where there is no vision the people perish" through dead materialism. "A man's reach should exceed

his grasp, or what's a heaven for?" They had a vision. Of what? Of England free as it is to-day. "Lords and Commons of England!" wrote the Puritan Milton, "consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, suttle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point . . . . . that human capacity can soar to. . . . Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself, like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle, muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam." . . . . "Though all the winds of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing." Thus earnestly did Milton plead for Liberty of the Press; but it was many years before England was set free from the Press censors.

Impracticables. The Puritans were better private citizens and soldiers than legislators and administrators of law and government. The rules that regulate individual conduct, however good, may prove to be bad when put in the form of laws with penalties for default. Laws for the government of pious people may have a very questionable reception and application when enforced on a mixed community. They laid themselves open to the Shakespearean jibe: "Dost thou think because thou art virtuous there shall be no more cakes and ale?" The attitude of "because I think it wrong to do this or that, another shall not," could not possibly stand, and any law not sustained by the general sense of the people is, however good, sure to fail.

Theirs was, however, a brave, although impracticable attempt to set up the Kingdom of God on earth; but it failed because it was enforced by law, not by love. The wheat and the tares will continue to grow together until the Harvest. Those persons who have that Kingdom—the reign of love, purity, truth, righteousness, peace—already set up in their hearts may pray, beseech, exhort, but in regard to religious duties they must not enforce.

Mutilation. A hundred years before the Commonwealth an order was given (1538) for the destruction of all images in Churches which were supersitiously used. Ten years later (1548) came "a further order of Council to take away all images out of parish Churches, whether they had been abused or not. It was probably in virtue of this order that the terrible destruction of carved stone work in reredos, screen, and pillar, which is conspicuous in so many of our Cathedrals and parish Churches took place." — *Wakeman*, p. 271. In 1649 a like spirit prevailed, so that what had before escaped destruction was liable to be dealt with by men who cared not for the beauties of art. With these iconoclastic actions we, of course, cannot sympathise. It was a thousand pities that our churches were robbed and damaged, whether in the great pillage in Edward VI.'s reign, or under the Commonwealth. The motive on the first occasion was the dishonest greed for gain of other people's property; and on the second, zeal against the spirit of idolatry in image worship. In Protestant churches of Germany, such as those at Nuremberg, there are beautiful pictures adorning the walls, helping a certain class of minds the better to grasp spiritual truths; the most skilful and artistic carving in ivory, wood, and stone; mouldings in plaster; works wrought in gold, silver, iron or bronze of Scripture characters or scenes, educating and elevating young minds, and forming in them the germs of good thoughts and lives. There is stained glass, with its charm of colours, fixed in stone of grand and chastened work. Many of our old churches, on the other hand, are bare and bald, the statuary broken, the glass with a few bits collected and put into an east window, every painting banished, every adornment gone. Oh! the pity of it!

Persecution. Objection is taken to the Puritans on the ground that they were opposed to King, Bishops, and Prayer Book; but well they might be. "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land," was the language of James I. It might have done in Spain, or Turkey, but not in England. The bishops had become "lords over God's heritage," "grievous wolves not sparing the flock," but harassing, fining, confiscating, imprisoning. Three hundred beneficed clergymen were driven out of their livings by Archbishop Bancroft, and the Scotch were having episcopacy, and the Prayer Book, forced on them

by fire and sword, resulting, of course, in the Solemn League and Covenant, and in the Scots being Presbyterians ever since. Such courses not only defeat their object, but produce strong prejudice against every part of the persecuting system, and its officials and accompaniments.

The Aftermath. But now see how Time works. The Commonwealth and the Restoration were set-backs in the march of real liberty: great and serious set-backs—but only set-backs. Forty years afterwards the nation rose up as one man—including the most conservative and moderate; indeed, all classes—and said: "We will have done with the Stuarts for ever. We will have a Protestant King and Church. We will have a limited Monarchy. We will have civil and religious liberty." James II. fled, and Parliament settled the removal of one King, and the appointment of another, with the succession to the Throne, and with such iron-bound guarantees to secure Protestantism and liberty, that they have not been unbound to this day.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-53.

The death of Charles I. left the remnant of the House of Commons free to do its work, and claiming for themselves the authority of the Parliament of England, they at once abolished the House of Lords, and declared that the office of King in the nation was dangerous to liberty, and contrary to the public interest. A Council of State was appointed, and an Act passed prohibiting the appointment of another King; but Charles II. was conditionally proclaimed at Edinburgh, and an angry demand was sent by the Scotch to Westminster for Charles to be recognized, and for religion to be reformed by the establishment of the Presbyterian system, which, of course, occasioned resentment. The acceptance of Charles in Ireland necessitated, it was thought, an expedition to prevent an invasion from Ireland, in order to coerce England into the acknowledgment of Charles as King. All kinds of schemes for government were proposed—and opposed—and at length an

Act was passed, declaring England to be a Free Commonwealth, and therefore to be governed by the representatives of the people in Parliament. There arose a very strong opposition to the Government—practically the nominees of the Army, and a demand was made for a real representation of the people. It was therefore determined to introduce some popular legislation, among which was an Act for Poor Debtors in prison, who, being unable to pay the fees required for food and maintenance, were thrust into the beggars' ward, where the only means of support was the charity of persons passing by. Under the Act passed, if a debtor could show that he had not £5 worth of goods, he was entitled to his liberty. Soldiers were employed to put down highway robbery—not a happy selection of officials to be used for such a purpose. A Resolution of the House forbad ministers preaching or praying against the then present Government. Cromwell and Ireton voted against this pin prick. A motion to declare the payment of tithes not compulsory was rejected.

Precautions. In order to prevent the election of a Royalist Parliament, a declaration was agreed to, undertaking that every Member should sign a form to be faithful and true to the Commonwealth without a King, or a House of Lords, and this was also required to be signed by all officials in almost every department of the State and Church; but the Presbyterian clergy preached against it, and the Royalists either abstained from signing it, or took it with a mental reservation.

Measures were passed for the suppression of Sabbath-breaking, swearing, and drunkenness. A new High Court of Justice was formed for the trial of treasonable cases, with the powers of life and death, but with a limitation of its existence to six months. In order to raise money to carry on the government, the lands of the late King and royal family, of the bishops and chapters, and of individual delinquents, were sold.

The Scotch. The negotiations of the Scotch with Charles II. for an invasion of England, and for the establishment of the Solemn League and Covenant, or, in other words, Presbyterianism, was met by a decision to invade Scotland. The Scotch asked Charles to sign a Declaration of his own duty, and to acknowledge that he was humbled in spirit by his father's opposition to the work of reformation,

and by his mother's idolatry. Had he been a man of principle he would have resented with scorn the insult to his father's and his mother's name, but having said he would never consent, he consented, and signed, to his own dishonour, and so pacified the Scotch, who, however, were defeated in battle with great slaughter. In 1650, an Act was passed repealing the requirement to attend Church on Sundays, providing a person resorted to some public place where the worship of God was exercised. It was determined that all proceedings in the law courts should be conducted in the English language. The younger children of Charles I. were allowed to go abroad, and were to receive £1,000 a year each so long as they behaved inoffensively.

Confiscations. The expenses of the Government being greater than the income, a Confiscation Act was passed by which the estates of no fewer than seventy persons were to be sold for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and these included the estates of the Newcastle family. In 1657, a Parliamentary Committee advised the sale of all cathedrals where there were sufficient churches and chapels for the worshipping of God, the proceeds to be employed for a stock for the use of the poor; and Lichfield Cathedral, being since the siege in a ruinous condition, the lead was stripped off and sold; but here the matter stopped. The Battle of Worcester shattered the hopes of Charles and the Scotch, and a reward of £1,000 was offered for his arrest. He fled, and was hidden in the oak that has in memory kept green ever since; and now he had to go into exile. One thousand of the Scottish prisoners were sent to drain the Fens.

Professor Gardiner, in his *Commonwealth*, says that the leaders of the Commonwealth "displayed but little of that sour austerity with which they have frequently been credited." Cromwell loved an innocent jest. Music and song were cultivated in his family. Dancing was not uncommon. Presbyterianism took little root. It was difficult, and often impossible, to fill up the elderships. Many thoughtful men became Independents, or Baptists, or came under the influence of religious enthusiasts. John Bunyan (1644) heard some pious women talking of "how God had visited their souls with His love in the Lord Jesus, and with what words and promises they had been refreshed, comforted and supported against the temptations of the devil," and he shortly afterwards began

John Bunyan.

that wonderful course of usefulness for which multitudes to the end of time will have cause to thank God. So far as we are concerned, the benefit of Bunyan's life to the people in our County is through his books, of which something like sixty were written, and for the sake of that benefit we may almost be thankful for his wicked imprisonment for twelve years for nothing but preaching, and especially for his second imprisonment in 1675, by the warrant of thirteen magistrates, for in that six months he wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which has been printed in eighty-four languages, and had innumerable editions.

Discontent. The wars for the subjugation of Ireland, the submission of Scotland and the Colonies, and the Dutch War, with the building of ships, caused a heavy drain on the national revenues, and it was therefore determined to have recourse to further confiscations of the property of Royalists, and six hundred and eighteen new names were inserted in the schedule, but buyers came in slowly; the Dutch War was unpopular, and the Service ill supplied—so far as the Navy was concerned. The Army became very dissatisfied with Parliament for their neglect of reforms, and also because some of the Members, who had entered the House poor, were now rolling in wealth. Cromwell was in favour of a Constitutional Monarchy. Parliament would not dissolve itself, and so Cromwell (1653) forcibly dissolved it.

An Election. The right of election had not been exercised for more than twelve years. A Council of State, consisting of seven military men and three civilians, was formed. Cromwell issued a summons to one hundred and forty-four representative persons to assemble at Whitehall, to take charge, for the time being, of the affairs of the nation. The representatives for Nottinghamshire were John Oddingfels (or Odingsells) and Edward Cludd, both of whom are starred as "Moderates," and "for the Godly Learned Ministry and Universities." No Members were summoned for boroughs, which shows how illegal and unreasonable the arrangements were. When assembled, they resolved that no one should be employed in its service unless it were first satisfied of his real godliness, and it issued a declaration of its assumption of the name of Parliament. Committees were appointed, with special duties.

Chancery. The Court of Chancery was very unpopular; and well it might be, for many thousand cases were waiting for hearing, so its abolition was voted; but it may be the Court was overloaded by the exceedingly disturbed state of the country. It was resolved that marriages might be solemnized before Justices of the Peace. Acts were passed for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners. Meanwhile, wild preachers, called Fifth Monarchy men, professing the desire to have the reign of Christ set up, seem to have had considerable influence, while the recognized religious bodies quarrelled among themselves. The nominated Parliament began to attack, and alarmed and angered Churchmen and landed proprietors, but fortunately they disagreed so much that at last (1653) they dissolved themselves. "Nothing," said Cromwell, "was in the hearts of these men but 'overturn, overturn.'" The principle of levelling, in order to give an equality to all, he hated, and would be no party to.

An Instrument of Government. "An Instrument of Government" was formed, the supreme authority to vest in the Lord Protector, and Cromwell to be the first, with provisions as to elections, Parliament, and many other matters. The whole, however, shows how much easier it is to pull down than to build up; that good men are not always wise; that it is not sufficient for men to have right motives and high ideals—these must be governed by law, order, and established usage, to dispense with which leads only to confusion and greater evils.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PROTECTORATE, 1653-60.

Oliver Cromwell had in the various wars proved himself to be a great general, and now was to become an Administrator: but a Military Dictatorship, with irreconcilable factions, was not a bed of roses. He, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, took the oath of compliance with the scheme of government called "The Instrument." He chose moderate men to fill the offices of state, and was therefore loudly denounced by the fanatical popular preachers of the day. His foreign policy was chiefly the mastery of the seas, and the

weakening of the papacy; his domestic policy, moderation; and no one was required as a test for office to make a declaration that he would be faithful "without King or House of Lords." An Establisbed Church was to be maintained, and, in order to secure proper ministers, Commissioners were to act as "Triers." They required the certificate of three persons of known godliness and integrity, and upon being satisfied that the minister was religious, moral, and capable, he was appointed. Local Commissioners were appointed for each county, with power to eject ministers and schoolmasters scandalous in their lives, profaners of the sabbath, "such as have publicly and frequently read or used the Common Prayer Book since the 1st January, 1654, or shall at any time hereafter do the same;" such as encouraged Whitsun ales, wakes, morris-dances, maypoles, stage plays, and such like; or were guilty of licentious practices; and such as were disaffected to the then present government: but power was given to the Commissioners to set aside one fifth of the income of the successor of an ejected minister, for the benefit of his wife and children.

Sufferings of the Clergy. Cromwell's Declaration of November 24th, 1655, says that "His Highness by the Advice of his Council" ordered that no person keep as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children any sequestered or ejected minister, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such upon pain of being proceeded against, nor was any such person permitted to keep any School, either public or private, nor were they permitted to preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than that of their own family. "Nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of Common Prayer."

The operation of the foregoing order caused and occasioned much hardship and wrong, for prosecutors were judges, and the judicial mind was absent, and in its place there was often bitter partisanship. A record of these sufferings is given in a huge book called *The Sufferings of the Clergy*, by the Rev. John Walker, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, the Mare, in Exeter, in 1714. Unfortunately, this book was compiled sixty years after the events recorded, by a writer living, for those days, a long way from our County, who could have little knowledge of local circumstances, so that for our County the record is very imperfect.

Local Cases. Here is a local case given:—"John Neile, B.D., prebend of Southwell, because he could never comply with the then Prevailing Party, against the King and the Church, he was Turned out of all his Preferments, and deprived of Subsistence among many other Worthy Men. After the Siege at York he was forced to Fly to Scarborough where he very narrowly mist being Slain in the Castle; and from thence Fled from Place to Place till he ventured to settle at Farnsfield in Nottinghamshire, where by Severity of the Rebels he was Reduced to such Want as to dispose of part of his Library, but after some little time by Entertaining and Teaching Gentlemen's Sons and some other Endeavours, he made a hard shift to live till the year 1660." He rented a farm at £20 a year, and Dr. Walker gives a touching recital of his straits when the rent was demanded, and he had no money, "but by an Extraordinary Instance of the Divine Goodness to him in the time of his suffering" the money came that very day, as he learnt from Dr. Hammond, who had a fund for distribution to well disposed persons. He was afterwards restored, and made Dean of Ripon.

An extraordinary case is given by Walker at Ordsall, where he says Dr. More was sequestered three times for playing at cards with his own wife! There are minor matters reported at Widmerpool, Holme Pierrepont, Clifton, and other places. Sequestrations at Keyworth, Ruddington, Retford, Bingham, Great and Little Leak, at which latter place Edward Bigland, B.D., "was likewise plundered of all his personal estate" of £100 per annum some years under sequestration. "He was also seized and carried prisoner towards Nottingham, at which time being forced to lie in a wagon in the fields he got a palsie of which he died."

A case is given in Northamptonshire where one of the assessors to a sequestration is described as a notoriously immoral man, who had charge of the prisoners, and used to let them out at night to rob and steal, and was at last hanged at Nottingham for robbery on the highway.

Elections. The Parliament of 1654 continued talking for five months with little result. It was, therefore, dissolved, and a new Parliament called. The franchise which gave the right of voting in the large towns was very limited. We have not the figures for Nottingham, but in Leicester the number of persons who voted in 1656 was only fifty-nine. In the counties the voters were persons possessed

of real or personal property valued at £200—equal about to £800 at the present day. This was afterwards modified, and severe restrictions imposed in order to ensure that "godly men" should be qualified for the House. In 1655, a proclamation was issued giving liberty of worship, but forbidding interference by Quakers, Ranters, and others.

A Plot. There were in this year some active Royalist designs with a view to upset the Protectorate, and place Charles on the throne. Among other combinations, a party of about two hundred gathered at Rufford, with the intention of marching northward to join their comrades at York. Lord Byron was to have been the leader, but both he and Sir George Savile were from home. Their secret was betrayed and they fled, and Lord Byron was afterwards arrested.

County Major-Generals. A Militia was raised in every county, and placed under Major-Generals, who were to see that all arms were taken from Papists and Royalists; to see that the highways were made safe, and robbers prosecuted; to keep a strict eye on the disaffected, and no horse-races, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, or any other unlawful assemblies permitted; to see that persons having no visible means of subsistence were sent out of the country, but that the laws for the benefit of the poor were executed; and by their constant carriage and conversation to promote godliness, and punish vice, and to certify justices unfit for their offices, etc. There were various directions for exactions from Royalists, with limitations of liberty, and scales of rating on rentals, amounting in some cases to ten per cent. There were severe restrictions on the ejected clergy, but it is said that these regulations were not enforced, and that none of the reports of the Major-Generals show any ejections of clergy from private houses, and that Dr. Walker could not find any cases of chaplains or schoolmasters reduced to poverty by the action of the Protector.—*Gardiner*, vol. iii., p. 192.

There was a good deal of rigorous interference with the extreme men in various departments of agitation, and it would be unreasonable to hold the Protector personally responsible for the excesses of all his officials. So far as toleration was concerned, he was in advance of the best men of the time.

Whalley, as our Major-General, was the first to start his work, beginning at Newark on November 2nd, 1655. Cromwell thus summed up his domestic policy in an address to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen: "The sole end of this way of procedure is the security of the peace of the nation, the suppression of vice, and the encouragement of virtue." In seeking to suppress vice, the Major-Generals and the Commissioners found it easier to punish than to reform. "Though the prisons were filled to overflowing, it was difficult to keep abreast of the tide of roguery." "This," boasted Whalley, "I may truly say: you may ride over all Nottinghamshire and not see a beggar, or a wandering rogue. I hope suddenly (soon) to have it so in all the counties under my charge." Whalley enforced "the law against enclosures, which ordered that two parts out of three should be kept under tillage." He hesitated to repress drunkenness and immorality by taking the proceedings out of the hands of local justices; but he sought to lessen the number of alehouses, especially where the persons that kept them were of lewd life and conversation.

Ordinances. After the dissolution of Parliament many administrative reforms were carried out under more than a hundred ordinances published by the Government. The Court of Chancery was reformed. Some degree of order was introduced into Church appointments. Liberty of conscience and worship was largely secured, except to Episcopalians, whom Cromwell regarded as so bound up with the cause of Charles as to be a political danger. Through the vote of a new Parliament, called in 1656, the military despotism of the Major-Generals was abolished. The Crown was offered to Cromwell, but he refused it. A new Constitution was adopted, and Cromwell, with the assent of Parliament, was formally instituted, and invested with power. Liberty of worship was secured to all except Papists, Prelatists, Socinians, and those who denied the inspiration of the Scriptures.

The Navy. The victories of Blake by sea, and of the English Armies on the Continent, had now raised the national reputation higher than it had ever been before; but with this glory came the breakdown of Cromwell's health, and disaffection in the Parliament began to be pronounced, and in August, 1658, he died.

The direct connection of Cromwell with our County was slight, so we must be content with saying that he was one of the ablest Generals the country has ever had; that he had an earnest desire to promote the welfare of the people; that he did not use his power and influence for the advancement of selfish purposes; that he was unwearied in his work, and was in advance of his times and his helpers in regard to liberty and public policy. But the times were unfavourable for social development; moderation and reasonableness were almost unknown quantities; the land and property owners were naturally very sullen, and thwarted the Government—they held the local offices of magistracy, they had for generations been the governing class; the common people had no votes; few persons were electors; the Lords had been abolished—the Church interfered with; violent men, talkers, dreamers, self-seekers, had risen up. The position became an impracticable one. No man could stand the strain. The nation must suffer further before it was fit for deliverance, for in the School of Suffering the most valuable lessons for a nation, as well as for the individual, are learnt.

"Night brings out stars, as sorrow shows us truths."

Richard Cromwell. Richard Cromwell, the son who was elected by the Army to succeed his father, was a weak man, devoted to field sports, and quite unfitted to assume his father's burden, and soon a spirit of reaction in favour of Royalty manifested itself in Parliament, in the Army, and among the people. A great experiment had been made, and it had failed. The people were not prepared for it. They had had no experience in the management of their own affairs. As legislators they were unskilled. As administrators they were untrained. All the laws, precedents, usages, and customs of the past having been interfered with, they were like a ship without a rudder, or a compass. They were so violent in their prejudices, so charmed with what they regarded as newly discovered truths, that they lacked balance, and even common fairness. Persons of one side they considered as harmless, even if wrong, and there was little or no good in their opponents, even if right; and so, for the time being, they failed, as every ill-considered, sudden outburst must fail. Those brave soldiers of the Army, who had sacrificed much for their country, laid down their arms, and went back to their farms, sad, but wiser men, and carried with them the seeds of sobriety, good conduct, and religion,

that were of immense benefit to the nation in their counties and homes. The Court might become corrupt and debauched, but the homes of the people were saved, and a leaven worked in the villages and country towns that thirty years afterwards dispelled from the throne the reign of vice, and secured to us the blessings we now enjoy.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE RESTORATION, 1660.

Three reigns followed in rapid succession, but they were not the reigns of Kings. The Puritans delivered us from the tyranny of the bishops, who, with the hateful Star Chamber, and Court of High Commission, had become lords over God's heritage, and who had utterly forgotten the indignant remonstrance of the "Chief Shepherd and Bishop of Souls": "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?"; as well as His example, in that He came not to be ministered unto, but to serve. This parasitic growth of cruel power by the ministers of Christ was not dead, but had been scotched. It had a final struggle for a few years after the Restoration, when it was banished with James II. for ever from English soil. Unfortunately, the Puritans substituted for it the reign of the sword. A military power for defence is still a necessity, for all men do not love peace, but it is very detrimental when the military man has to rule. The Duke of Wellington, great as a General, did not make an effective Prime Minister. We do not want in our County Major-Generals, as Cromwell appointed: we want Civil Authorities. The military control disappeared, and now came what was far the worst of all—the Reign of Vice.

Reign of Vice. Charles II. had, after his efforts to gain support in Scotland and Ireland and his defeat at Worcester, been living in Paris a disreputable life of low debauchery, so that although he had by his fair speeches won the support of many, yet whenever his name had been mentioned to Cromwell as being willing to accept the throne

with limitations, he (Cromwell) had invariably referred to the badness of the man's life as showing his unfitness to assume the duties of a King. When, however, the favourable opportunity occurred for the King to return, the old proverb was illustrated, for the birds of a feather flew over the Channel in multitudes; low debauchery became fashionable; the stage became vicious; seduction and adultery were not regarded as any bar to society, or office; language was degraded to cover double meanings; and chastity, morality, and religion were laughed at as weaknesses from which men were now free. The taint which the King and his licentious Court inflicted on the nation continued to fester, either in public or in private society, for more than one hundred years. He had a multitude of profligate women whom he made duchesses, or countesses, or otherwise put in high places, and his courtiers followed suit, and so public immorality was kept in countenance. The evil course with which Charles began his reign he continued throughout his life.

Reaction. Charles definitely promised to respect liberty of conscience, and to assent to any Acts of Parliament that might be presented to him with a view to securing liberty, and a Convention proceeded to arrange various matters for securing the welfare of the people, but in matters of the Church success was not attained. The clergy who had been ejected entered into their livings; the bishops returned to their sees. Proceedings were taken against the regicides who were living, and the bodies of those who were dead were exhumed and hung on gibbets. The Parliamentary Election of 1661 showed how thoroughly the reaction had set in. The people were wearied with enforced morality, compulsory Presbyterianism, the suppression of harmless sports, and the interference with their ordinary usages. The men who were elected, Roger Pepys says, "they seemed the most profane swearing fellows that ever I heard in my life."—*Green*, 620. At the opening of Parliament, every Member was ordered to receive the Communion, and the League and Covenant was burnt by the common hangman in Westminster Hall or Palace Yard. A Corporation Test Act was passed, as also the Act of Uniformity, requiring unfeigned assent to the Prayer Book, the enforcement of which created Dissenters wholesale, and to that extent weakened the Church. Other similar Acts followed, which are described in the next Chapter.

Habeas Corpus. Upon R. L. Stevenson's principle that there is some good in the worst of us, and some bad in the best of us, there was one valuable Act that must be credited to the time of King Charles II., and that is the "Habeas Corpus Act," which has been a valuable aid towards securing our liberties.—See the Chapter on Social and Political Rights.

A Letter. Gilbert Burnet, the good Bishop of Salisbury, who wrote the *History of the Reformation*, for which he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament in 1679, wrote a letter to King Charles, in which he says: "There is one thing, and indeed the only thing, in which all honest men agree, as that which can easily extricate you out of all your troubles; it is not the change of a Minister or a Council . . . but it is . . . a change in your own heart, and in your course of life." "You have not feared nor served God, but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures," and adds that he desires no hypocritical show of religion in the King, but a real change, and concludes his long and solemn warning with a most moving appeal for better things. Of course the King threw the letter in the fire, and spoke of the writer with great asperity.

The End. The King died as he had lived. On the night of Sunday, February 1st, 1685, the galleries of Whitehall were gay: on the morrow the hand of death laid hold of him, and for three days he was in a stupor. He refused to receive the Communion from Bishop Ken, but one of his mistresses, Louise de Keroualle, whom he had made Duchess of Portsmouth, fetched a Catholic priest, who gave him absolution; but the handwriting on the wall could not be rubbed out. "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." Pretty, witty Nell Gwynne, was another of his mistresses, and her son was made Duke of St. Albans. Almost the last words of the King were: "Let not poor Nellie starve." Starve indeed! She is said to have paid as much as £4,500 for the great pearl necklace belonging to Prince Rupert, and to have had from the King £60,000, and Bestwood Park (which was then well stocked with deer) was settled on her, and after her death on her son, the Duke of St. Albans. She died 13th November, 1687.

Two Brothers. There was much difference between the characters, habits and dispositions of the two brothers who succeeded their father as Kings of England. Charles was the Merry Monarch. He laughed or smiled con-

tinually, so that people who went from his presence did so with a sense of pleasure with having been in his company. Life was a great joke; why not enjoy it? Two thousand clergymen were ejected (1662), but what of that? The Great Plague (1665) carried off at least 100,000 persons, but it was easy to go away and leave such a disagreeable business! The Great Fire of London (1666) rendered the people houseless, but really it could not be helped! The Dutch entered the Thames and Medway, and burnt the ships (1667); but what of that?—they went away again! Even on his deathbed the King could not restrain his humour, and apologized for being so unconscionably long in dying! But James had none of this saving grace of humour. He was sincere, but impetuous; stubborn and narrow, yet intensely real. Charles cared not two straws for religion, but with James the Throne was of less consequence than the influence of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1662.

When the Crown was restored to King Charles II., nearly all that had been done in regard to governmental procedure since the death of his father was treated as null and void, and in defiance of his proclamation of April 4th, 1660—"We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion"—the Act of Uniformity was passed two years afterwards, and is called the 13th & 14th Charles II., c. 4. In it reference is made to the Act of the first year of Queen Elizabeth, one hundred and three years before, when there was one uniform order of service and prayer, but it indicates that that Act had proved a failure so far as attendance at church was concerned, for it complains that "a great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living without knowledge and due fear of God, do wilfully, and schismatically abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches, and other places where common prayer, administration of the Sacraments, and preaching of the word of God is used upon the Sundays and other days," etc. And yet that Act had

very clearly required all persons "inhabiting within this realm," to resort to their parish churches, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and a penalty of twelve pence for every offence to be levied by the church-wardens.

The penalties by the old Act imposed on any "parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister" refusing to use the forms prescribed, or using any other forms, or speaking "anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book," were serious, being for the first offence the loss of a year's income from his benefice, and in addition six months imprisonment; for the second offence a year's imprisonment and his benefice, and all spiritual promotions; and for the third offence imprisonment for life. For any person "in any interludes, plays, songs, rhymes, or by other open words," "speaking anything in the derogation, depraving or despising of the same book," or influencing the vicar to use any other book, or interrupting the service, etc., the penalty was for a first offence one hundred marks, and for a second four hundred marks, and for the third offence the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, and imprisonment for life. Yet notwithstanding the terrible severity of those penalties, the new Act declares that there had been "great and scandalous neglect of ministers in using the said order or liturgy," the King had therefore appointed a Commission to review and alter the book and to add thereto, and the King had approved and allowed, Parliament therefore ordered the use of the forms in the Prayer Book, "in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed and joined to this present Act," and required "every parson vicar or other minister whatsoever" upon the Lord's Day before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, to publicly read the forms and to openly and publicly before the congregation there assembled declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed in these words and no other," the penalty being the deprival of all spiritual promotions, and the loss of his office.

Conventicles. Surely all this was sufficient to ensure uniformity! No. Both King and Parliament might be careless of morals, but they must have uniformity. So in 1664 an Act was passed that if any person over sixteen years of age was found "present at any assembly conventicle or meeting under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed

by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England," or if more than five persons were present in addition to a household the magistrates were authorised and required to commit to jail every offender for not exceeding three months, or a penalty not exceeding five pounds, which was to be given to the relief of the poor; and for a second offence imprisonment until the Assizes, with the power of transportation to His Majesty's foreign plantations for seven years.

Five Mile Act. Now surely the King's and Parliament's great concern for the purity and happiness of the people committed to their care will be satisfied! No. Another wrench must be given on the Parliamentary rack, and so in the year following (1665) an Act was passed providing that "if any person who had been parson, vicar, curate, etc., should, unless only in passing upon the road, come or be within five miles of any city or town corporation or borough that sends burgesses to Parliament," or within five miles of where he had been vicar, etc., or preached in an unlawful assembly, etc., before he had taken the prescribed oath, he should forfeit forty pounds, one third of which should go to the King, one third to the poor, and one third to the common informer suing. Such persons so restrained, and any other persons not frequenting divine service established by the laws of this kingdom, were prohibited teaching in any school, or taking in boarders, under a like penalty.

Separatists. The reasons for non-compliance by the persons aimed at with the requirements of Parliament seem to have been—(1) They desired that the Church should govern itself without the intervention of the State. Probably it was not then clear how this could be done, but the Established Church of Scotland shows how a National Church may have the benefit of Establishment and yet retain its freedom. (2) They objected to territorial bishopricks. They contended that the New Testament examples of the Churches of Ephesus, Thessalonica, etc., showed that there were several bishops or elders in each church—not many churches under one bishop. Possibly this might have been met by a bishop acting in council. It is not deemed undignified for His Majesty to act in council—that is, with the assistance and co-operation of several members of the Privy Council assembled in conference. (3) They objected to baptismal regeneration, contending that baptism was merely a symbol, and did not make the recipient a child of God, or an

inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven, but was merely an outward act of faith, hope, and confession. (4) They objected to priestly absolution, contending that of apostolic powers there was no historical proof of succession; that in the line of the bishops of Rome there were broken links that could not be joined, and that no spiritual powers could be conveyed through a line of succession so polluted as that of the wicked prelates in the Middle Ages, so that no grace could be conferred except through the power of personal goodness, and the efficacy of prayer, which were available for the priesthood of all believers.

CHAPTER XLVII.

NOTTS. EJECTED MINISTERS.

Uniformity. What became of those ministers officiating in the churches in our County, but who refused to assent to the Act of Uniformity? The *Nonconformists' Memorial*—being an account of the lives, sufferings and printed works of the two thousand ministers ejected from the Church of England, chiefly by the Act of Uniformity, August 24th, 1662—was written by Edmund Calamy, D.D., nearly two hundred years ago, twenty-five pages of which are occupied with particulars as to "Ministers Ejected or Silenced in Nottinghamshire," from which the following extracts are made:—

Alkring (probably Eakring). Mr. Matthew Thompson, who had six children, removed to Lincolnshire. He was a humble, charitable man, and a celebrated preacher.

Arnold. John Crompton, M.A., was ordained by the Bishop of Chester, and when lecturer at Allhallows, in Derby, continued to perform all the duties of his office during the time of a raging pestilence, by which the town was so desolated that grass sprung up in the market place. At the Restoration he was forced to give up his living at Braisford, to which place he had removed, and he then removed to Arnold, where his services were very acceptable; but by the

Act of Uniformity he was soon dispossessed, and he did not choose to preach in the village afterwards except at such times as there was no preaching in the church. He rented the Arnold Vicarage house, where he lived until the Five Mile Act removed him to Mapperley, in Derbyshire. It was said of him that "he was always cheerful, though on the losing side."

Beeston. Mr. William Cross, of Pembroke College, Oxford, was generally respected, was a good preacher, and was first called to Attenborough, and afterwards removed to Beeston, where the Act of Uniformity found him. After his ejectment he lived at Loughborough—when the law allowed him, He died pastor of a numerous congregation in Derby.

Bleasby. Mr. John Jackson, born at Oxton, son of Mr. W. Jackson, a conforming Puritan minister, a good preacher and an eminently holy man, who continued his labours until he was over one hundred years of age. His son was offered a much better benefice if he could have conformed. He removed to Morton, near Southwell, where he taught school, and preached in his own house, and other places, as he had opportunity. He was often disturbed by informers, was cited into the Spiritual Court, and was excommunicated. He afterwards kept a school at Keesall (Kneesall), a place noted for Puritans, where he preached twice every Lord's Day till his death. He was a sober, grave, and good man.

Blidworth. Mr. Thomas Rose was at Blidworth several years before his ejectment, and afterwards continued preaching there, though grievously harassed by the prebendaries, etc., from Southwell. He removed to Nottingham, where he was imprisoned six months, and upon his release he lived at Adbolton, where he preached to a considerable number, till the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the West, when he and many others were clapped up in prison.

Bridgford, West. Samuel Coates, M.A., of Cambridge University, being ejected in 1662, removed to Yorkshire, where he had a good estate, and preached gratis. He was a profound scholar, a solid, judicious divine.

Calverton. Mr. John Allot, a laborious and useful preacher. Soon after his ejectment he removed to London, and exercised his ministry among a few people in private, but died in a little time.

Clayworth. (£180.) Mr. John Cromwell, B.A., Magdalen College, Cambridge. Oliver Cromwell offered him £200 per annum to be household chaplain to his son Henry, but he thought preaching the Gospel the highest preferment. He sometimes preached at Court with great applause. After his ejectment he, with many others, was made prisoner at Newark, upon the occasion of what was called the Yorkshire Plot. Nothing appeared against him except that his name was Cromwell. He often requested a trial, but could not obtain it, and he continued some years in prison, by which he contracted such disorders that his life was despaired of. The Duke of Newcastle wrote to the Council on his behalf, he was released, went to Norwich ; but on the second Sunday of his ministry there, he was forced out of his meeting-house, his licence being called in, and for nine years he never was without trouble, being pursued with indictments at Sessions and Assizes, and with citations from the Ecclesiastical Courts. He removed to his native place, Barnby Moor, where he had a good estate ; but it was too late to receive any benefit, and he died. During his residence in Norwich he was invited to dine with Bishop Reynolds, when many young clergymen were present, and laughed upon his withdrawal ; the Bishop, being angry, said : "Thus far I can aver, he has more solid divinity in his little finger than all of you have in your bodies."

Cotgrave. John Clark, M.A., Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. A good scholar, and a sound, plain, profitable preacher. He had some skill in physic, but practised gratis only. He died at Basford, aged thirty-nine.

Collingham, South. Mr. John Pindar, soon after ejectment, removed to London.

Cromwell. Joseph Truman, B.D., Clare Hall, Cambridge, was born at Gedling. Upon his making a remark to some persons, "It is true, gentlemen, you have the King's law for what you do, but we must have respect to God's law as well as the King's," they went to the next Justice of the Peace and made oath that Mr. Joseph Truman had said, "We ought to have respect to God's laws, and not to the King's." This was made the ground of a most violent persecution in all the Courts of England, which issued in an outlawry. He was forced to absent himself from his numerous family, and his business, to attend the Courts, for near three-

quarters of a year. It cost him £1,500. One of his persecutors afterwards entreated him to pray God to forgive him, and another came to beggary. After the Act came in force he continued at Cromwell some time, but did not read the whole service, for which he was indicted at the next Assizes. After his ejectment he resided at Mansfield, where he commonly attended the worship of the Established Church. He was a man of profound judgment, admirable temper, and moderation, and Bishops Tillotson and Stillingfleet had a great esteem for him. He died in his forty-third year.

Flintham and Sutton.

Mr. John James, of Exeter College, Oxford. He began to preach and was lecturer at Newark at the Restoration, but was dispossessed, and lay seventeen months in Nottingham jail. He was released, but was afterwards seized, and lay in Newark jail about six years, because he would not promise to give over preaching. Again being released, and preaching, he was informed against, and warrants were granted to seize his goods, and not a stool was left. His three children were frightened into fits by the violence shown, and one died. He lost nearly £500 in goods and cattle. Being destitute, he fled to London, and became pastor in Wapping, where he died.

[The Rev. J. Stephenson, in his *Story of the Independency at Sutton-in-Ashfield*, says Mr. James rented a farm at Flintham, used his own house for worship, and occupied the pastoral office from thirteen to fifteen years. In the *History of Castle Gate Congregational Church, Nottingham*, the Rev. A. R. Henderson tells how the members of that Church rode, and the young and strong walked, from Nottingham to Flintham when Mr. James was going to preach, and how when Mr. James paid stolen visits to Nottingham the password went round to the people assembled in an upper room, or rock cellar, at two or three o'clock in the morning. A Psalm was read, for they dare not sing for fear of arousing a common informer, and then their pastor expounded the Word of God.

With the energy required to farm, to ride in the saddle twelve miles across country, and to preach to three congregations, we are not surprised at the report presented by the Vicar of Flintham to the Archdeacon that in the parish they "had Anabaptists and Independents in considerable numbers. Among the principal of these is Mr. John James,

a dangerous seducer from the Church of England. At his house the meetings of the conventicles are generally held. He is a considerable farmer in the town, holding under Trinity College, Cambridge. . . . . The pride of a schismatiche I find impenetrable, nor will any of them promise me to forbear their meetings."]

Greasley. Mr. Robert Smalley, of Clare Hall, Cambridge, was born at Beeston. A hard student, a winning preacher of sound judgment, and a successful ministry. He had an unusual presage of his own death, upon which he called together a number of ministers who had retired to Mansfield, telling them he would speedily be taken away. They prayed, ate, drank and conversed pleasantly together, when he dropped down dead from his chair.

Kirton. Mr. William Herborn, of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, was an able man, a very solid, practical preacher, and of a holy conversation. He had some estate of his own, and was very charitable with it. After St. Bartholomew Day, 1662, he lived at Watford.

Kneesal. Mr. Turner had been before ejected from Hawton, and preached here till 1662. He was poor, and had many children.

Mr. Bosworth was ejected from Kneesal, removed to Nottingham, where he preached, and there died.

Linby. Mr. John Leighton, was a pious, good man, but very poor.

Mattersey. Wm. Aspinall, B.A., of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was a plain, practical, edifying preacher, of an unblamable life, and was a great blessing to the people. After his ejectment, he took a farm in Yorkshire.

Nottingham, St. Mary's. Mr. John Whitlock, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and Wm. Reynolds, M.A., of the same College. The former was Vicar, and the latter Lecturer. They lived together, and seemed to have but one soul; and this continued fifty years. Mr. Whitlock was an active spirit, and zealous for God. A great reformation was visible in the Town after his coming to it. He had a good estate of his own, and was ready to do good with it,

particularly in assisting poor scholars. He lived to be eighty-three years of age. In 1660, the two were indicted for not reading the Common Prayer. Mr. Reynolds was excommunicated, and he was put to much expense and trouble in journeys to York and London, when the proceedings against him were prohibited. They removed to Colwick Hall, where they were seized at their meeting in 1663, and again in 1665, and imprisoned for about three months without any cause assigned. When the Five Mile Act took place they removed into Derbyshire, and afterwards to Mansfield, where they continued nineteen years. When going to Newark as freeholders to vote at an election for Members of Parliament for the County they were seized, and sent to Nottingham jail, by eight Justices upon the Five Mile Act. They there continued four months, and upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing, they were sent, with many others, as prisoners to Hull. Liberty was given in 1687, when they returned with their families to Nottingham in peace, much to the joy of their people. Mr. Reynolds continued labouring until his death at seventy-three years of age.

Nottingham, St. Peter's. John Barret, M.A., was cited to appear at the Archdeacon's Court, and sentenced by Sir Edward Lake, the official, that if he did not read the Common Prayer, and wear the surplice, the next Lord's Day, he would be suspended. This order was given after Dr. Harcourt, the Archdeacon, had received a prohibition from the Archbishop of York against meddling with any new cause. In 1676, four informers had determined to take Mr. Barret and his hearers at a meeting in a private house, two of them rode off for a warrant, while the other two walked backward and forward, but the people got away before the informers came. One of the informers was sent to jail for deer stealing. Mr. Barret died at eighty-two.

Ratcliffe. Mr. John Pen.

Rolleston. Mr. Thomas Ogle, of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Saunby (?). Mr. Joseph Rock, after his ejectment taught school privately. He was a good man, of a very calm, humble, sober, peaceable temper. Very diligent and successful in catechizing.

Sibthorpe or Flintham. Mr. George Cook, when the Act of Uniformity took place, offered to preach in the church, but was violently hindered by two men, who forced the pulpit door against him, upon which he withdrew, and removed to London. He was a good scholar, a great disputant, and a sound preacher.

Southwell. James Mowbray, B.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge, was a man of great piety and considerable learning. He afterwards lived and preached at Sleaford.

Sutton-in-Ashfield. Mr. Fuke, at the time when he was ejected, was an old man, and blind.

Thorpe. Mr. Henry Fealty was an amiable person, and remarkable for the holiness of his life.

Thrumpton. Mr. Ferdinando Pool was educated in the College at Dublin. For the greater part of his time he was in the family of that grave and pious matron, Mrs. Pigott, of Thrumpton, who by her interest and money shielded him from the Bishops' Courts. He had seven children. When the Civil War broke out, he removed to Huntingdonshire, but returned when the war was over, to a much smaller stipend, until he was forced away, and died at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, aged eighty. A man of great humility and considerable ministerial ability.

Mr. John Woodhouse was Chaplain to Lady Grantham, where he spent many years in study, and thus prepared himself for a sphere of greater usefulness. He married the daughter of Major Hubbard, of Leicestershire, a woman of piety, and of good fortune. He thereupon applied himself to educate young men, and to preach more publicly and constantly. About the Vale of Belvoir he diffused saving light. He dreaded a useless life, and when some unhappy circumstances broke up his school, his fear was that he should live to no purpose; but he was soon invited to be a pastor in London, and in the country he continued to guide multitudes in what concerned the safety and liberty of this nation, when the tide ran high against religion and property.

The following afterwards conformed :—Mr. Daniel Chadwick, of Tollerton; Mr. Flower, of Staunton; Mr. Horn, of Nuttall; Mr. Boole, of Clifton; Mr. Kendall, of Widmerpool;

Mr. Ormston, of Keyworth; Mr. Firth (or Frith), of Fledborough; Mr. Fisher, of Blyth; Mr. Charles Jackson, of Selston; Mr. Salter, of Winthorpe, who accepted a small benefice at Caunton. Mr. Rainbow, of Tresswell, was urged by his wife to conform, but he said it was against his conscience, and he fell ill, and died.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE QUAKERS' PERSECUTION.

George Fox was born (1624) in the adjoining County of Leicester. He passed through a terrible spiritual experience, reminding one of that of Bunyan, and yet it differed, for Bunyan's great difficulty was to get rid of the burden of sin on his conscience, and Fox's to get away from the sin around, and from the hollowness of religious teaching of the day, which teaching was not so much Laud's "thorough" system of Churchmanship—not Episcopacy, but Presbyterianism, which prevailed during his early years missionary tours. He seems to have held most of the doctrines usually called evangelical; one of his chief points was that man—not a stone building—is the temple of God. He held that "being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit or qualify men to be ministers of Christ." The inward light was essential, and Christian perfection must be aimed at. Judicial swearing, as well as profane swearing, were in Fox's view forbidden by Christ; he would agree to an affirmation only. What irritated people most was his refusal to take his hat off, and his testimony against the lawfulness of war for Christian men.

The first four years of his mission work, which began about 1648, were largely spent in the Mansfield locality, the Vale of Belvoir, and Yorkshire.

George Fox, in his *Journal*, says: "Now as I went towards Nottingham on a first day in the morning, with Friends to a meeting there, when I came on the top of a hill in sight of the town, I espied the great Steeple-house (meaning St. Mary's Church) and the Lord said unto me: 'Thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers

therein.' . . . When I came there all the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest (like a great lump of earth) stood in his pulpit above. He took for his text these words of Peter: 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' And he told the people that this was the Scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say: 'Oh no, it is not the Scriptures'; and I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions and judgments were to be tried; for it led unto all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth," etc. "As I spoke thus among them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison; the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat, that it very much annoyed me."

We shall agree that all parties were in the wrong, for however valuable that lost truth of the presence and power of the Spirit of God may be, George Fox had no right to disturb other people in their worship, and the others were equally wrong in imprisoning him, and the magistrates were the worst in having a prison in the state described.

He had a similar experience at Mansfield Woodhouse, where he was cruelly beaten, and put in the stocks. At Derby, where he was imprisoned for a year, he was described as "George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the County of Nottingham."

In 1658, William Smith, of Besthorpe, became an earnest and faithful preacher, and was imprisoned several times for non-payment of tithes, and for refusing to take the oaths; one of his imprisonments in a suit in the Ecclesiastical Courts continuing for three years.

An Act. On May 2nd, 1662, there was an Act of Parliament passed, specially directed against the Quakers. By this act all Quakers refusing to take an oath, or meeting to the number of five for worship, were to be fined £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, with the alternative of three or six months hard labour, and for the third offence to be banished to the Plantations.—*Hodgkin*, p. 175.

Archdeaconry Returns, 1669 According to returns presented to the Archdeacon of Nottingham, there were attending the ordinary meetings of the Quakers at Mansfield about twenty persons ; extraordinary meetings, sixty. Normanton : sometimes one hundred and fifty "Egyptian frogs"—they were called. Broughton Sulney : "a generation of vipers." Ruddington : forty or fifty. Eastwood : forty. Kneesall : twenty to forty. Mansfield Woodhouse : at the house of Robert Bingham, excommunicate for not coming to Church. At Skegby : at the house of Widow Hatton.

Vigorous Justices. "1670 saw a rigorous execution of the Acts against Nonconformity, Penistone Whalley and Robert Thoroton being the most prominent among the Nottinghamshire Justices in enforcing them. No less a sum than five hundred pounds was extorted by way of fines from the Quakers alone, many of the Friends having to pay, in addition to their own, the fines of their poorer brethren."—*P. J. Cropper.* Of the two Justices named, the first was the last male in the direct line of the famous family of that name of Kirketon Hall, Screveton, whose ancestor had received the grants of Welbeck and Sibthorpe, and whose uncle was one of the Regicides. His estate was said to be worth £1,500 per annum, but he fell into financial difficulties, and died about 1680, in prison for debt, in London. The other Justice was the author of the "well-known History of the County, published in 1677, a marvel of labour and research." So mercilessly were the persecuting acts enforced, that in 1676 an account was published as a pamphlet by Friends in London, entitled *The Cry of Oppression Continued and Encreased in Nottinghamshire ; being a brief Relation of some of the late Cruel Sufferings of the People of God called Quakers, in the said County, for no other Cause but Meeting Peaceably together in Obedience to God and Christ Jesus, and in true Love to All People.* This was followed the same year by *A True Relation of some more of the Sufferings inflicted upon the Servants of God, who are call'd Quakers, in the County of Nottingham. Chiefly by Pennistone Whaley and Robert Thoroton, called Justices, their making Havock and Ruin of their Innocent Neighbours' Goods and Estates*, etc. Twelve pages are occupied with reports of fines and imprisonments. The fines varied much, some being for a few shillings only, but the costs were largely increased by the distraints. Thus : "For meetings at the House of John Seaton, of Blythe, were taken. . . . . All his Household Goods, Cattle,

Horses, Swine, Carts, and other Utensils of Husbandry, with Wood, Stone, and Brick worth £100." George Greaves, of Blythe, £36. Poor Henry Upton, of Harworth, £14 the first time, and at another time all the residue of his goods. The names of thirty-six persons are given, who were in January, 1660, at that time in the Town and County gaols at Nottingham for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance.

A Violent Charge. The Charge given to the Grand Jury at the Quarter Sessions at Nottingham, in 1669, by Penistone Whalley, the Chairman, was very violent. After giving a parody of the religious faith held by the Quakers, he said, among other "spicy" items: "Undoubtedly those that live and die in these Opinions cannot but be damned: And who would beget a Child to go to the Devil? Therefore if you would have your Children enjoy that you leave them, suppress these People, and let the full severity of the Law be exercised on them, and stricter than the Law if it can be; for pitying them doth no Good." Thereupon John Wood was fined two hundred marks, and on non-payment was committed to prison. When, therefore, Mr. Cropper says, Dr. Thoroton "died suddenly, in 1678, aged fifty-five, in the moment of his success, following the publication of his History, while Whalley, who had so often committed to gaol for non-payment of fines the long-suffering Quakers, was himself imprisoned for debt, and died in gaol after some years of confinement, confessing the hand of God was justly upon him for the cruelties he had perpetrated, events so striking could not be without their effect, and after this year (1676), there were but few persecutions against the Quakers, except for tithes." A list is given of "the Oppressed" and their Oppressors, the names of the Oppressed numbering two hundred and twenty-eight persons, residing in all parts of the County, the most numerous being:—at Sutton-in-Ashfield, sixteen; Nottingham, fifteen; Farnsfield, fourteen; Girton, thirteen, etc. "The Oppressors" contains the names of thirteen magistrates, and a large number of constables, common informers, overseers, and wardens, the principal number of whom resided at the places named, and at Westhorpe, Collingham, Eakring, Bingham, etc.

A memorial had been presented to the King, in which it was said that "four thousand two hundred and thirty of the people of God—in scorn called Quakers—for worshipping of God and meeting together in the fear of the

Lord," had been imprisoned, but Hooke's address to both Houses of Parliament says that eight thousand Quakers alone suffered imprisonment.—*Life of Bunyan.*

It must not be assumed that all the persecutions of the Quakers were by one party. Fox, writing to the King, probably early in 1662, says: "Under the changeable powers before thee [meaning the Commonwealth and Protectorate] 3,173 Friends had been arrested and imprisoned." That was the account of a persecution spreading over something like ten years, 1650-1660. Now in the space of less than two years from King Charles' accession, there had been imprisoned in his name, and by those who thought to ingratiate themselves with him, 3,068 persons.—*Hodgson*, 183.

Conscience only.

It is strange that what appears to us so natural and plain that we owe loyalty and obedience to the State in civil matters, but that faith and worship we owe to God only, and the State has no concern with it — was never grasped several hundred years ago; yet we must take this into account in reading history, otherwise we shall be led astray. Many of the persecutors in the olden time were really good men, but whether Catholic, Anglican, or Puritan, they deemed it to be their duty to the State to set a man right religiously; and if he was wrong, he must suffer, for otherwise the State would suffer, and to punish him might save him. Of course they failed, as fail they must; but the motive might be good, although the action was worse than useless.

We must further give some attention to the difference between the original Quakers, and modern Friends. We have a good local contrast. Who that lived in Nottinghamshire fifty years ago did not know Samuel Fox, the most prominent of the local Friends of that day? Now George Fox was an Elijah, restless and untiring, filled with zeal for the Lord of Hosts, utterly uncontrollable until he had thrown down what he regarded as the altars of the Baal of political religiousness. Samuel Fox was an Elisha, faithful to duty, and unswerving, but filling the poor starving widow's vessels with oil, making the mother's heart to rejoice; healing and comforting; actively promoting schools and education, temperance, thrift, liberty and all good works. Each man was working with a high motive in a different way.

CHAPTER XLIX.

UNIFORMITY LESSONS.

Indulgence. Charles II., with all his vice and dissipation, had sense enough to see that the Parliament and the bishops had been attempting an impossibility, and when he had been on the throne thirteen years he confessed his mistake, and issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," in which he told how his care for his people had been shown "by the many and frequent ways of coercion," "for reducing erring and dissenting persons," which, however, had yielded little fruit, and therefore he suspended all penal laws against Nonconformists or recusants, in matters ecclesiastical, allowing, however, Catholics only to say Mass in private houses. Thereupon the jails were emptied, five hundred prisoners, including John Bunyan, walked out; four hundred and ninety-one Quakers, we are told, who had been the special objects of persecution, were set free to worship God after their own fashion. "The loss to the Nonconformists in their goods during this severe and cruel persecution has been estimated at half a million sterling."

Rights of Parliament. The King had, however, by his proclamation or "Declaration of Indulgence" gone beyond his powers—so Parliament contended. They resolved "that penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by consent of Parliament," and they refused supplies until the Declaration was withdrawn, and the King yielded, but a Test Act was at once passed through both Houses, requiring everyone in the civil or military employment of the State to take an oath of allegiance and supremacy, to make declaration against transubstantiation, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England. This Test Act continued in force until the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828, followed by Catholic Emancipation in 1829. King James II. was determined to establish the Catholic religion, to which he belonged, and therefore, failing to carry Parliament with him, declared himself above the law, and in 1687, issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," which suspended the operation of all penal laws against both Nonconformists and Catholics,

and professed to abolish all Test Acts as a qualification for office, in either the Church or the State, but the great majority of the Nonconformists, including men like Richard Baxter, John Howe, and John Bunyan, refused the benefit of an Indulgence that was in violent overthrow of Parliament and law.

We are now prepared to see the folly of attempting enforced uniformity. The Acts that were passed to ensure it spread dissent wholesale. Experience will show that Acts of Parliament frequently act in the way their promoters do not desire, and often occasion new evils not foreseen. It must be remembered that diversity, not uniformity, is the law of nature. Every face and mind, every animal and bird, every tree and flower—proclaim this. One hundred years before Parliament passed the last Act of Uniformity, the Monarch defined what was to be believed, and required assent and consent under penalties; then an assembly of bishops made a new definition, and required assent and consent with penalties. The persons concerned were quite as capable of judging as the defining bishops, but they were not allowed to judge. They were treated like machines—not men. The Master, when the disciples had told him that they had seen a man casting out devils in His name and they forbad him, "because he followeth not with us," were censured with "Forbid him not"; apparently to their minds it ought to have been: "You have done rightly; forbid him, and put him in jail." Did it never occur to these men how easily their orders might be evaded with the assent of the lips, but with mental reservations. "Worldly Wiseman' passes muster, and John Bunyan, the immortal thinker, is at the very moment in jail (1660-1672) —twelve years—writing books that have helped millions heavenward, while the names of many of the uniform compulsionists are forgotten, or remembered only to be despised.

The present Bishop of Hereford says: "If Richard Baxter had remained in the Church of England to the end of his days, what a difference there might have been in the Church of England to-day. The Act of Uniformity in 1662, which drove that good man out of the Church to become a leader of Nonconformity, was one of the greatest misfortunes that had befallen the Church of England. He had seen it described by a great man as one of the greatest misfortunes that had befallen our English life. It was a misfortune which had never been retrieved; which made us into two

nations instead of one—two nations in religion, two nations in politics—and which divided class against class."

"I, for my part, do confess," Bacon says, "that in reading the Scriptures I could never find any such thing but that God had left the like liberty to the *Church* Government as he hath done to the *Civil* Government, to be varied according to time and place and accidents. * * * It is good we return into the ancient bonds of unity in the Church of God, which was 'one faith, one baptism,' and not 'one hierarchy, one discipline.'"

Comprehensiveness. The Church of England must be comprehensive. If it becomes the church of one school of thought or one section, it will soon be both disestablished and disendowed. It has had persons of such diverse views as Pusey, Ryle, Jowett, Maurice, and Colenso; nor can it well be otherwise so long as the Prime Minister for the time being practically appoints the bishops, for the influence of the State must keep the Church broad, moderate, and comprehensive. The Church as now formed cannot become a denomination. It represents—or ought to—the religious side of the nation; not, it is true, all the nation, any more than the government of the day represents all classes of the people; but neither those grand, historic cathedrals, which are our national pride, and national monuments; nor those beloved old parish churches, which are the property of the parish in which they are situate for sacred uses, in which every parishioner has his rights; nor those vast revenues closely interlaced with the ownership of land throughout the country, that mark the piety of men and women in past ages, many of whom were Roman Catholic in sentiment, and left their lands for Catholic uses, now abolished; nor the thousand and one ways in which the Church and the nation are linked together, can ever be allowed to become the heritage of a few narrow souls, who will exclaim: "The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are WE!"

A Remedy. The past mistakes cannot be undone. They may be blamed, and grieved over, but the evil continues. Is there no remedy? Is the evil perpetual? God forbid! The man who perpetuates the evil is the man who assumes the superiority of privileged position, or of cold disdain, or refuses co-operative effort, or who shows bitter

antagonism. So strangely do these things operate, that the most orthodox man may be the schismatic, and the heretic may be the most kindly-hearted man. A willingness to forgive and forget; an earnest yearning for the public good being paramount; an occupation with the best way of removing the sins and sorrows of society, both at home and abroad; a full conviction that the Gospel, as God's remedy for man's sin and misery, can best be diffused by kindly and combined effort;—these considerations will, in the long run, prevail in the minds of thoughtful men and women; mutual concessions will be made, for there are no vital principles at stake; obstacles will be removed, for time is a great healer; extreme men on both sides will be discountenanced, and energies will be directed, not against views with disparities, but against what is opposed to the glory of God and the good of man. "The impregnable rock of Holy Scripture" will be the court of appeal, and the sunbeams of love will burst the bonds that act as barriers, not uniting powers. The gain to the public weal will be enormous, and men will learn that religion remains, although forms change. We smile at the mistakes made by our forefathers; our children will smile at ours. We can do nothing against the Truth.

CHAPTER L.

THE REVOLUTION, 1688.

James II. succeeded to the Throne in 1685, promising to preserve the Government, both in Church and State, "as it is now by law established." He was welcomed with great enthusiasm, but a rebellion in the West of England by the Duke of Monmouth, the son of Lucy Walters, one of Charles' many mistresses, not only affected our district, but, it being suppressed, the Bloody Assize of Judge Jeffreys occurred, which caused great odium, and the King proceeded to adopt the courses of Charles I. in doing illegal acts, while he filled many offices with persons of the Roman Catholic religion. Soon his popularity ceased, and the state of the nation became one of great alarm.

William and Mary. It was very fortunate that seven years before James II. ascended the throne, his daughter, Mary, had married William, Prince of Orange, to whom all England now turned with hope and expectancy. Secret negociations had during 1687 been going on between the leading men in England and the Prince of Orange, asking him to come over with a sufficient force to compel subjection to law and order, and promising him support. On the quay of the little port, or fishing village, of Brixham,* may be seen a stone which says :—

ON THIS STONE AND NEAR THIS SPOT
WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE,
FIRST SET FOOT ON LANDING IN ENGLAND THE
5TH OF NOVEMBER, 1688.

His fleet consisted of six hundred transports, escorted by fifty men of war. His army was thirteen thousand men strong, and he commenced his march from the west. He slept the first night at Ford House, Newton Abbot, and a lamp post stone shows the place in Wolborough Street from which his first proclamation was read by the rector of the parish.

A Remonstrance. Blackner, in his *History of Nottingham*, says : "The first *open* act for revolutionizing the State took place at Nottingham on the 23rd of November, 1688," by the issuing of a declaration, signed by the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Stamford, Lord Howe, Lord Delamere, Charles Hutchinson, Esq., and others, of which he gives a copy, and which sets forth the innumerable grievances from which the nation was suffering, among them being the King's dispensing with all the established laws at his pleasure ; displacing officers from offices of trust for the purpose of appointing Papists in their place ; destroying the charters of Corporations (Nottingham among others) ; discouraging non-Papists, and preferring such as turn to Popery, displacing conscientious judges ; branding as rebels all persons who resented arbitrary proceedings by the King or his corrupt ministers ; burdening the nation with an army to maintain the violation of rights of the subject ; forbidding the right of petitioning, etc. They therefore declared they

* Lyte, who composed that beautiful hymn, "Abide with me," resided at Brixham.

would join the Prince of Orange in seeking to recover their almost ruined laws, liberties, and religion.

To Arms! Deering says that "ten days before the foregoing Declaration was made public, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Stamford, the Lord Howe, and other noblemen and abundance of gentry of the County of Nottingham resorted to this town, and went to meet one another at their respective inns, daily increasing in number, and continued at Nottingham till the arrival of Lord Delamere, with between four and five hundred horse; this nobleman quartered at the Feathers Inn (the Old Moot Hall, at the corner of Wheeler Gate and Friar Lane), whither all the rest of the noblemen and gentlemen came to meet him; and till this time the people of the town were unacquainted with the result of these frequent consultations; when the above-mentioned lord, after he had staid awhile in the town having a mind to try the disposition of the populace, on a sudden ordered the trumpets to sound to arms, giving out that the King's forces were within four miles of Nottingham, whereupon the whole town was in alarm, multitudes who had horses mounted and accoutred themselves with such arms as they had, whilst others in vast numbers on foot appeared, some with firelocks, some with swords, some with other weapons, even pitchforks not excepted; and being told the necessity of securing the passage over the Trent, they immediately drew all the boats that were then near at hand to the north bank of that river, and with them, and some timber and boards on the wharf, with barrels and all the frames of the market stalls, barricaded the north side of the Trent."

A Busy Market. "My Lord Delamere and his party, well pleased with the readiness of the people to give their assistance, his lordship sent his men and some officers to the Prince of Orange, but himself, with a few officers, staid till the next day, being Saturday, which is the principal market day, when he, the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord Howe, etc., appeared at the Malt Cross, and in the face of a full market, the Lord Delamere, in a speech, declared to the people the danger their religion and liberty were in under the arbitrary proceedings of the King, and that Providence had sent His Highness the Prince of Orange, under God, to deliver them from Popery and slavery, for which reason, according to the Prince his declaration, they were for a free

Parliament, and hoped their concurrence. This was seconded by a speech of the Duke of Devonshire, and also of the Lord Howe, which was followed by the shouts of the people, who cried out: 'A free Parliament! A free Parliament!' This done, Lord Delamere departed to follow his troops, whilst the Duke and Lord Howe made it known that they were for raising horse in defence of their liberty, and would list such as were willing to be entertained, whereupon upwards of an hundred men, who offered themselves, were entered that same day."

Green's History, referring to the operations of Danby at York, says: "The militia met his appeal with shouts of 'A free Parliament, and the Protestant religion!' Peers and gentry flocked to his standard, and a march on Nottingham united his forces to those under Devonshire, who had mustered at Derby the great lords of the Midland and Eastern Counties."

Revolution. The King was at Salisbury, but his supporters and the army lost all confidence in one another. and "he fled to London, to hear that his daughter, Anne [afterwards Queen Anne], had left St. James's to join Danby at Nottingham. 'God help me,' cried the wretched King, 'for my own children have forsaken me!' His spirit was utterly broken." He soon afterwards fled, and escaped to France.

William was requested by the House of Lords, and by those Members of the Commons who had sat during the reign of Charles II., with the London City Council, to undertake provisional government. An appeal was sent to the electors of every town and county to send up representatives to a Convention, which met in January, 1689, and after various proceedings, a "Declaration of Rights" was, on February 13th, presented by the two Houses, declaring the past wrongs, and the future limitations on the part of the Sovereign, the rights of justice, liberty of debate, the free exercise of their religion by all Protestants, and binding the Sovereign thereto; and it ended by declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England.

Hearth Tax. As an example of the influence that William exerted may be instanced the hearth money. Every householder, rich or poor, had to pay several shillings for the hearth or chimney tax, and money was borrowed by

the Government on the security of this tax, and it was farmed out and enforced with rigour, even to the selling of the bed on which a sick woman lay. The King sent a message to Parliament that if the tax and its abuses were inseparable, he preferred to dispense with the tax, and under strenuous Court influence brought to bear on the Lords, the chimney tax was declared a badge of slavery, and for ever abolished.

Several clauses in the Speech which the King delivered to the Parliament on the last day of 1701, are too good to be lost:—

> "I cannot but press you to take care of the Public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim 'That they shall never be losers who trust to a Parliamentary security.'"
>
> "It is always with regret when I ask aids of my people, but you will observe I desire nothing which relates to personal expenses of mine."
>
> "I hope what time can be spared will be employed about the other very desirable things which I have so often recommended from the Throne. I mean: The forming of some good bills for employing the poor; for encouraging Trade, and the further suppressing of Vice."
>
> "I should think it as great a blessing as could befal England if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest offences committed against me."
>
> "I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the *Common Father* of all my people."
>
> "Do you in like manner lay aside Parties and Divisions."

The Speech of two hundred years ago is the message for to-day.

Liberty. The King had great difficulties to contend with, but he set himself resolutely to secure liberty of worship; he tried, but failed, to get High Churchmen and Nonconformists to agree upon essentials, with latitude in matters unimportant, and he was before his time in seeking

to throw open all civil offices to Protestants, without distinction of sect. The Toleration Bill, then considered as the great charter of religious liberty, was passed. The severity of the dreadful Acts against religious liberty in the days of Charles II. relaxed. It was done in a very clumsy form, requiring signatures to forms against Transubstantiation, in favour of Inspiration of the Scriptures, and with various restrictions; but the essential thing was that liberty to worship God according to the dictates of a man's conscience was, under William, secured. A comprehensive Bill, seeking to embrace in the National Church all who would assent to her doctrine as containing all things necessary to salvation—in other words, seeking to relieve the narrowness of the Uniformity Acts—Parliament would not pass.

Our liberties were now secured, and here we rest. It was, however, not creditable that one hundred and forty years passed before Catholics were relieved of their civil disabilities, and the Jews later still.

A Wondrous Change.

More than two hundred years have passed since the stirring events we have recorded. We live in the same towns and villages; we worship in the same churches: we are subject to the same government; we have the same monarchy continued—but what a change! We are all Roundheads now, while the Cavalier is extinct. We not only cut our hair short, and wear sober clothing, and use sober speech—but the whole atmosphere is changed, and changed in the direction the Puritans sought. Such an address as the translators of the Bible presented to King James when they had finished their excellent work would not be thought of now. "Great and manifold were the blessings, Most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of England when first He sent your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us." We, too, have had our translators—or rather, revisers—of their work, who, both in regard to the Old Testament and the New, presented calm, business-like explanatory statements, concluding with thankfulness and prayer.

The whole aspect of society has changed in regard to civil and religious liberty. Kings, Lords, Bishops, Commons, People—all have changed. In the year of 1906-7, King Edward VII. received in audience ten foreign rulers in interviews that tended to peace and goodwill among the nations.

His Majesty in 1907 signed fifty-six public Acts of Parliament, one hundred and seventy-six local Acts, and seven private Acts—rejecting not one; and it is centuries since one of our Monarchs rejected a Parliamentary Bill. To all those Bills the Lords assented; grumbled at some that they thought—and possibly rightly so—were of doubtful value, but still assented. The Commons voted millions of money for Imperial purposes, and nobody said "Nay." The bishops have long ceased to have civil jurisdiction, or to show ostentatious display. One bishop may be seen going about his diocese on a bicycle; another preaching in the slums; another spending all his stipend on charities; another (the Bishop of Southwell) the most active man in the two Counties; while another (the Bishop of Carlisle) writes in the *National Review* for November, 1907: "The relation of the English Church to English Nonconformity is an instance of the poisonous effects of clericalism. The whole history of Nonconformity should fill Churchmen with crimson shame, and compel them on their knees to shed tears of humble penitence. Nonconformity was largely the Church's own creation. And having, by the wedlock of her pride with her negligence, begotten this offspring, the Church forthwith proceeded to pile civil disabilities on it; with vulgar contumely to treat it as vulgar; in extreme instances to dub it as the sin of schism, and till quite lately to give it universally the cold shoulder and the ecclesiastical shrug, although God the Holy Ghost was all the while manifestly bestowing His blessing on it."

The King's Inscription. No longer have Englishmen to go to America in order to obtain "Freedom to worship God." Here is a copy of an inscription for a Bible presented by our King to Bruton Church, Virginia, U.S.A., in June, 1907: "The King will ever hope and pray that the ties of kinship and of language, and the common heritage of ordered worship and of ennobling ideals, may, through the saving faith of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, revealed in these sacred pages, continue to unite Great Britain and America in a benevolent fellowship for setting forward peace and goodwill among men."

Vine and Fig Tree. Truly, the times have changed. The devout Catholic, the Anglican priest, the quiet Quaker, the active Methodist, can all sit at the same Board, and do necessary social work. The lion lies down with the lamb, and a little child leads them, for in every

family "Baby" is King. The rights and privileges we enjoy, and take as a matter of course, were partly paid for by the blood and treasure of the Puritans, and we enter into their labours. They were too hurried, and did not know that Liberty is a Tree, and its growth is slow, for it has a heart of oak, and not of willow. Any noodle can, in an hour's time, stick a pole in the ground, and nail cross-bars on it, and call it a "Liberty Tree," although it has no life in it, and it will not grow; but the fair tree of our liberties has continued for centuries growing, until now we live in the freest and best governed country in the world.

"'Tis a glorious charter, deny it who can,
That breathes in the words: 'I'm an Englishman!'"

LOCAL.

CHAPTER LI.

THE CITY OF NOTTINGHAM.

"Fair Nottingham, with brilliant beauty graced,
In ancient Shirewood's south-west angle placed."

"The earliest apparent mention of Nottingham," says Mr. S. Corner, B.A., "is of Nottinghamshire, and is in a charter of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, dated 664." He, however, goes on to explain the possibility of the charter being spurious, or a copy with a re-statement. The initial "S" to Snodingham was not dropped till nearly five hundred years afterwards, and the country round Nottingham, so far as is known, had not at that early date been formed into a shire. Asser, in his *Life of King Alfred*, writes what may be translated: "In the same year (868) the aforesaid army of the Pagans, leaving the Northumbrians, came into Mercia, and approached Nottingham, which is called in the British

language Tigguo-cobauc, but in Latin the house (or houses) of caves." It thus appears that the original name has been completely lost, so that whereas we had the old name signifying a habitation in caves in the rock, our present name is merely what is called a patronymic—that is a name derived from an ancestor, or head of a tribe, probably "snod," with the addition of the syllable "ing," which is possessed by 3,000 places in the country, and usually followed by "ham"—that is a home, or "ton"—meaning an inclosure, a hedge, a village, a town. Our city name, therefore, means the home of the descendants of Snod. Mr. E. Green mentions Roger of Wendover denoting the name as "Tinguobauc." "The earliest unquestioned occurrence of the name Nottingham," Mr. Corner says, "is in the various copies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle . . . . . under the years 868, 922, 924, and 941, then spelled Snotingaham," etc.

"The earliest mention of the County," says the writer of the Political History, in the *Victoria History*, "is not until 1016, when during the final struggle between Cnut and Edmund Ironside, Cnut marched north and harried Nottinghamshire." Again in 1064-5, Earl Morkere "went south to meet his brother Edwin with all the shire (i.e. Yorkshire) and with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and Lincolnshire until he came to Northamptonshire."

We have no means of knowing at what period the Town ceased to be known by the name given to it by the dispossessed British inhabitants, but doubtless it shared the fate of the various Saxon and Danish struggles, and of course in such wars the Castle rock would be the dominating fortress.

Witan-Gemot. There was a Gemōt or "Assembly of the Wise Men" held at Nottingham in 930. King Ethelstan was doubtless present, as were three Welsh princes, the Archbishop, sixteen Bishops, thirteen Dukes, twelve Thanes, and twelve untitled persons. There were fifty-eight signatures to the proceedings. The King called together the Witena-Gemōts, or the National Council or Legislature, whenever occasion demanded, to lay before them proposals for the good of the State. King Ethelstan, in endowing "the Church at York with the Hundred of Agemunderness in Lancashire recorded in the Charter that he executed it in a city well known to all men which is named Nottingham."—*W. Stevenson* quoting *Whitaker*.

The Bridges. There was a bridge over the Trent built by the order of King Edward the Elder, in the years 919-924. The provision for its repair, its chapel, and incidents form an interesting story. It was called Heyeghbeythbrugge, and other names. Deering says "it had only stone piers, and the bridge itself was wood."

In 1457-8, the great bridge over the Leen between the Town and Trent Bridge, estimated by Mr. Granger to have been 650 feet long, was "so destroyed and broken by the strong and unwonted rising of flood waters now lately falling, that such passage is wholly impeded and delayed, whereby grievous disadvantage and irreparable damage to our people is caused and had." So said King Henry to the men of the Town, and the men of the Wapentakes of Broxtowe, Thurgarton and Lythe, Bassetlawe, Newark, Bingham and Rushcliffe, each were allotted to repair two or more of the twenty arches that largely helped to cover and form part of the old Flood Road. This bridge had for a long time previously been repairable at a joint cost of the Town, and all the wapentakes or hundreds of the County.

Conquest and Fire. For several hundred years, partly before and partly after the Conquest, the Town was repeatedly the scene of raids and ravages, of fire and sword, of slaughter, destruction, and desolation; and many a time doubtless the miserable inhabitants wished that the castle and rock were miles away.

In 1140, the Town was burnt to the ground. Deering relates how the barons who were on the side of the Earl of Gloucester ravaged the County of Nottingham. The Earl also with great power invaded the Town of Nottingham, and spoiled it; the townsmen were taken, slain or burnt in the churches whereunto they fled; one of them, more rich than the rest, was taken, and led to his house by his captors to show them where his treasure lay, he bringing them into a low cellar, whilst they were busy to break open locks and coffers, he conveyed himself away, shutting the door after him, and set fire to the house, and so the thieves to the number of thirty were burnt, and by reason of this fire all the town was set in flames. The house is said to have been on the south side of St. Mary's Church. It must be remembered that the houses were built of timber, and covered with thatch or reeds, and so would readily burn. Assuming the story to be correct—and

I fear it must be taken as substantially true—one scarcely knows at which to be the most indignant and astonished: the greed for gold regardless of right, the tyranny of a lawless mob, their reckless carelessness, the rich man's prompt, resolute action, the awful risk ran, the terrible vengeance, or the sad devastation.

St. Mary's Church. When the Domesday Book was written, about 1086, the record was: "In Snotingeham there is one church in the King's demesne to which there belong three mansions of the borough and five bovates of land of the above named six carucates with sac and soc, and to the same church belong 5½ acres of land of which the King has the sac and soc. * * In the priests croft there are 65 houses and in them the King has sac and soc. The Church with all the things that pertain to it is worth one hundred shillings yearly." Opinions differ as to which was the "one Church in the King's demesne." In the Charter of William Peverel to Lenton Priory (1103-8), say twenty years after the above date, he gave, with the consent of King Henry I., the Church of St. Mary, in the English Borough of Nottingham, with its land, tithes and appurtenances; the Church of St. Peter and the Church of St. Nicholas, likewise in Nottingham, there being then the three churches, of which St. Mary's was in the English Borough, and the other two in the French Borough.

Assuming there was only one church before the Conquest, and that the Normans built two, they would be more likely to build in their own Borough, for the poor English would have no money with which to build, as they probably lost nearly all their lands and houses; it would, therefore, seem that St. Mary's must be the one church referred to. From the ancient times when St. Mary's Hill became an enclosed burg, which may have been in the days of the old British inhabitants who gave the Town its name, there probably was at the top of the hill a church, or place of worship. It is useless speculating about the Druids, or heathen worship, but for a vast period that hill has been a sacred hill, leading to the hill of GOD.

The earliest church would probably be timber framed, and filled in with Mapperley or other local stone, or with wattle and daub, and covered with thatch. There is still a thatched church at Markby, about four miles from Sutton-on-Sea, Lincolnshire, and at Sutton may be purchased a photo of the

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, NOTTINGHAM, AFTER ITS RESTORATION IN 1848.

church, on which is stated: "The only church in England with a thatched roof"—which, however, is incorrect. Looking at the venerable old building we are inclined to be sorry for its infirmities, and to be glad that slates and tiles are available.

The fire in 1140, when the whole Town was set in flames, must have burnt the church, and so we must suppose that St. Mary's, being rebuilt, would be built of stone.

There were fires again in 1153 and in 1174, and the stone building may have been erected about one of these dates. Assuming a stone building to have been erected shortly after one of the fires named, we may suppose that the poverty of the people would be such as to occasion a somewhat poorer and less stable church to be built; the result being that somewhere about 1392 to 1400, the old church was pulled down and a new one erected. Evidence of this is to be seen in the *Borough Records*, and the question is discussed in Mr. Stapleton's *Churches, etc., of Nottingham*, p. 16. The late Mr. Close fixed the heraldry of the building as of the reign of Richard II. (1377-99). Mr. Stevenson, referring to the tomb of John Salmon, who died between 1395 and 1405, suggests that the present church was built before the tomb was placed in it.

Considerable alterations may a century or more later have been made, for Leland, the antiquary, in 1540, refers to it as "excellent, new and uniform in work, and so many fair windows in it that no artificer can imagine to set more." Mr. Stevenson suggests that the stone was from a quarry in Gedling Wood. He further suggests that while the church was erected by the munificence of the gentry and merchants, the poverty of the chancel arose from the fact that for four hundred years this church was under the control of the priors of Lenton, who reduced the rectory to a vicarage, and upon whom the rebuilding of the chancel would be dependent.—See *Proceedings of the Royal Archæological Institute*, 1901, p. 453.

St. Peter's. Of St. Peter's, Mr. R. Evans, in a paper read in that church, says that the south arcade of the nave was built in the latter half of the 13th century, while the northern arcade is of fourteenth century work; the chancel of the old church was destroyed during the Civil Wars. Of St. Nicholas', it is unnecessary to say that whatever beauties it had before the Civil Wars, they were then destroyed.

Charters. The various rights claimed and charters given to Nottingham may be taken as fairly indicating the public spirit of the principal men in the Town at the dates as they occur. Claims for rights usually indicate their exercise. Powers given by Kings to localities would be so given because they were paid for, but would not be given unless there was a need shown, and would be withdrawn unless there was confidence that they were, and would be, wisely used. When, therefore, King Henry I., fifty years or so after the Conquest, gave to the Burgesses of Nottingham (see Henry II. Charter) the control of the River Trent, with free navigation, restricting the working of dyed cloth within a radius of ten *leucæ*—about fifteen miles—of the Town, with a weekly market, to which the men of Notts. and Derbyshire ought to come, freedom from bondage to be gained by residence in Nottingham for a year and a day, the quiet enjoyment of land bought and possessed for a year and a day, and other privileges and rights, their very exercise would develop a sense of manliness and self-reliance, of ownership and obligation, that in such times would be specially helpful. For centuries these rights were granted and confirmed by succeeding monarchs. John granted the power to form a Merchants' Guild, which would operate in promoting and protecting trade. Henry III. gave the power to elect coroners, and assurances for protection from arrest. Edward I. (1283-4) gave power to elect a Mayor for the Town, and one bailiff for each of the two boroughs (Norman and English) into which the Town was divided, the customs of which were very different, but fifty years afterwards the burgesses were willing to have both Sheriffs from either borough. In 1294, two representatives were sent to Parliament. Edward II. (1313-14) gave greater powers of self-government, and freedom from outside control. Edward III. (1330) confirmed to the Town the power to have a gaol for the custody of its own prisoners, which gaol they had used long before King John; indeed, there was in 1188 a charge for repairs to the Town gaol.—*E. Green.* Henry IV. (1399) forbad the County Justices interfering with pleas in the Borough, and directed the Mayor to be joined in any commission. Henry VI. (1448) directed that the Borough, which had for a long time been a Town incorporated, should be a County of itself—"Our Castle of Nottingham and our messuage called the King's Hall, wherein is our gaol for our Counties of Nottingham and Derby being alone excepted"—two Sheriffs instead of two Bailiffs being

elected, and seven Aldermen, to hold office for life during good behaviour, they being Justices of the Peace, and the Mayor to be elected from them, with power to use gowns, hoods and cloaks, "with furs and suitable linings to their cloaks." Succeeding monarchs confirmed the privileges granted, except that Charles II. and James II. seem to have made an effort to revoke them, and therefore William and Mary in 1692 gave confirmations of previous charters.

Accusation or Confession?

The Mickletorne Jury was an institution whose business it was to present to the Court called the Great Tourn, held before the Mayor, complaints as to breaches of the law. In 1395, they under oath made a presentment to the effect that all the brewers were guilty because they brewed against the Assize—that is, against the statute regulating weight, measure, proportion of ingredients, and the price of articles sold in the market; the bakers charged 1½d. for a bushel—that is, 6d. for a quarter of corn, whereas they ought only to take 4d. The butchers sell corrupt meat. All the (female) poulterers sell butter and cheese and such things too dearly. They make candles without wicks, to the deception of the people. All the tanners sell leather not well tanned, and sell in their houses without the goods being placed in the market for sale. All the shoemakers sell shoes too dearly, and put calf-skin among ox-leather. All the cooks sell sometimes meat and fish unprepared, and warmed up again, hurtful to the human body. All the hostelers receive guests against the Assize, and sell them provender hay and other victuals both for man and for horse without an Assize. All the weavers take too much; to wit: for a dozen of cloth, 2/- and more. All the makers of shoes sell cloth steeped in water. All the dyers block up the king's highway, and defile it with the ejection of the waters of their art, to the corruption of the whole people passing. They present a number of people for being forestallers, that is for stopping and buying goods on the way to the market (which was an offence until 1844). They name a number of people for selling before the proper hour, others for throwing "odure" into the ditch, or into the Lene, with many other insanitary practices. All the apothecaries sell spices by unusual and unfaithful weights, and mix old spices with new, etc.

If all these charges were true they show a deplorable condition of commercial morality at that time, and they also

show the folly of over-regulations and grandmotherly interference. Of course, the efforts of the jury to promote improved sanitary matters were in the right direction.

The Assize of Bread was taken on a Sunday before the Mayor and Bailiffs, when several trustworthy men deposed on oath that the price of corn sold in the market was on the previous day 11d., 10d., or 9d., or 10d., 9d., and 8d.; whereupon the bakers were ordered to bake according to the Assize of 3s. 6d. or 3s., as the case might be. John Bond, "baxster," as the bakers were called, was wanting in weight a farthing by the pound, and was fined 6d., but William Brekpot, baxster, "is forgiven because he is poor." Catherine Fish, and others, in 1396, sold in the Saturday market five white herrings for a penny, whereas they ought to sell six, etc.

Trades. Woollen cloth must from very early times have been woven by the inhabitants. In 1199 King John granted to the town a Merchants' Guild. The ancient guilds were of great service in promoting and regulating trade, prices, qualities, and in securing skill in apprentices. Would that our modern Trades Unions aided and enforced skill and good workmanship.

Alabaster. Mr. Geo. Fellows, in his book *Arms, Armour, and Alabaster round Nottingham*, states that Mr. St. John Hope's researches fix the earliest alabaster effigy at about 1290. Nottingham enjoyed a considerable reputation for its skilful "Kervers" in alabaster, much of which material was in the 15th Century exported to France and otherwise sold all over England. In 1371 an altar of that material was placed in the free chapel of St. George, of Windsor, for which a Nottingham man was paid. For two of the Rutland tombs at Bottesford, £100 each was paid. The best material came from Chellaston, but Mr. Lowe stated, in 1796, that at the Red Hill (Thrumpton) quarry columns twenty feet high had been obtained. Mr. Fellows gives illustrations of fine specimens in tombs at Ratcliffe-on-Soar, Holme Pierrepoint, Strelley, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, and other places. Mr. St. John Hope thinks that the smaller statues and panels in the monuments throughout the country were the work of the alabaster men of Nottingham and York.

The trades of blacksmiths, whitesmiths, etc., are shown to have been established very early. Bridlesmith Gate is

spoken of as early as 1304 as the "Bridilsmethisgate" (*B. R.*, p. 429), and the reputation of

> "The little Smith of Nottingham
> That does the work that no man can"

still continues, showing the benefit of heredity in the extensive manufacture of that modern marvel the lace machine, with its thirteen thousand threads, and in such delicate work as Burroughs' adding machine requires. The wool business seems to have given rise to many of the County families. Tanning was extensively carried on by the banks of the Leen, when the bark of Sherwood Forest was readily accessible. Deering says (p. 93): "The tanners were once a wealthy and powerful set of men in this Town." They had a powerful Guild, and it is said there was sufficient accommodation for the Town and County Assizes to be held in the Tanners' Hall in 1551, when the pestilence was raging, which, however, did not reach Narrow Marsh, for the tanning business, however disagreeable, has the reputation of warding off certain infectious and contagious diseases. Malting used to be extensively carried on; in 1641, according to Deering, p. 94, there were sixty maltsters, but only twenty-two bakers, and, in 1751, ninety-one alehouses.

Textile Trades. Blackner informs us (p. 246) that James Hargrave, having in 1767 contrived a machine called a jenny, he built a cotton mill in what became known as Mill Street, Nottingham (now unwisely altered to Bow Street). In 1769, Arkwright erected Hockley Mill. In 1788, Messrs. Davison and Hawksley erected a worsted mill where Gregory's Mill in Canal Street now stands, and that mill, being burnt down in 1791, they erected another mill at Arnot Hill, Arnold, now called Cottage Row; but financial difficulties followed, and the concern was broken up. There were various silk mills built, and carried on for some years, but these have all ceased.—As to the Cotton Trade, see "Papplewick," Chapter LXV. As to Hosiery and Lace, see "The Stocking Frame."

Colwick Weir. There was a case in 1392 against the Lord of Colwick for obstructing the river for the benefit of his mill. He made a trench, and planted willows, and fixed piles of timber, a kidell, and great stones, so that no boat laden with merchandise could approach the Castle of our Lord the King, nor to the Town of Nottingham, to the serious detriment of the whole community, and of the

four counties adjoining. The Order of the Court directed the Sheriff to throw down and remove the weir, and all other nuisances, and so to make a clear course to the Humber.

Market. In 1461-2, the Chamberlains' accounts show that there were in the Market — 32 stalls in the Butchers House, 20 stalls in the Drapery House, 8 Fishers, 10 Shoemakers, 30 stalls in the Mercery House, 2 Smiths stalls, 2 Turners, 6 Ropers, out of the rents of which they paid "£20 for the gift given to our Lord the King," 20s. for the purse, and 8d. for mending the said purse, and £18 13s. 4d. for ten men going to the northern parts in the company of Lord Hastings, at the cost of the Town, hired for two months at 8d. a day each, and £7 9s. 4d. for the expenses of sending two burgesses (Members) to Parliament at 16d. a day, and various other payments.

The Subsidy Roll for the taxes in 1472-3 gives the names of one hundred and fifty-four freeholders, who had to pay the tenth of the issues and profits of the lands and tenements, the amounts payable being from 74s. 7½d. to a farthing. We complain of the Income Tax at one shilling in the pound, but here was a tax of two shillings in the pound!

Lammas Lands. The letting of all the common fields—that is, the land subject to rights of common by freeholders, and to pass over at certain seasons of the year by the people—occupied much time and attention by the governing body.

In 1577, there was a protest against making new burgesses from outsiders—"ferren Bordgses," they were called. "There is to many alredy: by makyng of them the pore Bordgsses commons is eaten vp, to the greatte hindrans off all. . . . . And also Mester Jones, the Brewer, schall not be Bordgesse if other ways may be donne, fir, as we thynke, he wilbe a greatte hurte to all Burdgesse."

The Mickletorne Jury, in 1606, complained that the new Council had allotted "the best grownd to the richest men and lett poor men hav nothing yat are antienter Burgisses."

> "Thy sons, O Nottingham, with fervour pray
> May no intestine feuds thy bliss betray;
> Health, Plenty, Pleasure, then will ne'er decay."

CHAPTER LII.

THE CITY OF NOTTINGHAM—Continued.

Happy Nottingham. In *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, Mrs. J. R. Green has a chapter, occupying thirty-eight pages, on the Council of Nottingham, in which occurs the following passage: "Problems of government sat lightly on the people of Nottingham. Singularly favoured as it was by fortune compared with many other towns, there is something phenomenal in the record of a town so tranquil, so uniformly prosperous, so exempt from apprehension, with so complacent a record of successful trading and undisturbed ease. Administration was carried on in its simplest form, and few sacrifices were demanded of the inhabitants, whether of labour or of money, compared with the efforts which were required of less fortunate towns. The interest, in fact, of its history, lies in the quiet picture that is given of a group of active and thriving traders at peace with their neighbours, and for the most part at peace with themselves. The position of Nottingham was one of great military importance; for, lying almost at the centre of the kingdom, the town held the approach by the one bridge over the Trent by which the main road from the south struck northward, and further commanded the navigation of the river from the point where broadened by the confluence of the Derwent and the Soar, it became a great highway of internal communication. Throughout its history, therefore, from the time of the Danes down to the time of the Civil War, Nottingham could not be left out of account when any fighting was going on." "By land and by water, trade was almost forced to its gates." "A uniform prosperity seems to have reigned in the town."

It is to be feared that Mrs. Green takes too sanguine a view of the state of affairs, but certainly Nottingham has advantages in its location, which, although the circumstances are changed, continue to benefit the inhabitants. The importance of the river, and the bridge have diminished, but the railways have more than made up for the decay. The Castle and its rock are of much less account, but the coal underneath it is more than a compensation. The quality of the good

land near by contributes less to the prosperity of the district, but the location of thriving trades contributes much more.

Population. At the time of the Conquest, in 1066, the number of burgesses was one hundred and seventy-three, and nineteen villeins, or bondsmen. The Sheriff found one hundred and thirty-six men, so terrible had been the devastation by war. There being more houses than men would seem to indicate that the men had been compelled to followed their lords to the wars, and that both the lord and his men had laid down their lives. Revolts, wars, and bloodshed at home and abroad continued. In the reign of Stephen, 1135-54, the wars, violence, famine, and disease were such that the land was largely uncultivated, and the poor in great numbers perished. The burning of the Town would increase the local misery. In 1316, there was a terrible famine in Nottingham and all over the County, so grievous and dreadful that even children and prisoners were stolen and killed for food.

When Edward II. (1307-1327) determined to make an expedition to Gascony, a levy for men was made on all the towns, who were required to send men in accordance with the size of the town, and it is curious to observe that while Lincoln was required to send eighty men, Northampton fifty, Hull forty, Coventry thirty, Nottingham was required to send only twenty (the same number as Boston), Derby sixteen, Grantham and Stamford fifteen each, Newark ten, but Lincolnshire County was required to send twelve hundred men all in arms.—*Pike.*

In 1340, a levy was made upon two hundred and three householders, but this would not indicate the number of inhabitants if ecclesiastics and bondsmen were excluded. Six years later (1346) the rains fell almost without intermission from Midsummer to Christmas, the result being the destruction of the harvest, and a famine following.

The terrible plague called the Black Death, in 1349, which swept away half the population of the country, would, of course, take its terrible toll in Nottingham.

In 1374, we get a somewhat reliable estimate, after three hundred years, for a capitation tax—that is, a tax upon heads of persons, without reference to property—was levied, and it was found that there were one thousand four hundred and

forty-seven lay persons above fourteen years of age residing in Nottingham, but as it was estimated that one third of the gross population consisted of clergy, mendicants, and infants not counted, the total population was then regarded as two thousand persons. Passing over nearly one hundred years of the miserable strife of the Wars of the Roses, resulting in great poverty of the people, there was, in 1528, severe sufferings from almost incessant deluges of rain, which prevented cultivation, while there was an opposite evil in 1541, when thousands of persons died from diarrhœa and dysentry, arising from want of water, owing to a great drought. The ruinous condition of house property in Nottingham about this time, as shown in Chapter XXIV., indicates the poverty of the people. In 1567, the baptisms at St. Mary's Church were, on an average of five years, only fifty-four per annum, while there were fifty deaths per year, so that the population would be nearly stationary. In 1568, the population of the Town was supposed to be three thousand, and two years later the estimate was three thousand one hundred, being an increase of only one thousand or one thousand one hundred in nearly two hundred years. There must have been an improvement in 1578, as ninety youths were in that year apprenticed in Nottingham, but all through the fifty years of 1600 to 1650 we read of the plague raging in Nottingham, Newark, and the villages, so that in 1646 Goose Fair could not be held. Sanitary precautions must have been shockingly neglected, for in 1641, what we now call St. Peter's Square was such a swamp that a funeral could not get to the church, and in 1751 Deering speaks of it as a piece of waste ground within the heart of the Town, "was a meer sink before, and dangerous to pass, especially in the night," but recently paved. In 1653-4, Evelyn in his Diary says that he passed through Nottingham this year, and found large streets full of crosses, an ample Market place, with an open sough and horse pond in the centre, with a mouldering wall down the middle, trees, sawpits, stocks, a pillory, and ducking stool. The ducking stool was not kept for ornament or determent merely, for in 1638 seven scolds were ordered to be ducked. A ducking stool was a plank, like a see-saw, fixed on a pivot in the middle, and a chair seat at one end on which the woman to be ducked was fastened ; then the pivot turned, the other end of the plank was lifted up, and the woman sank for some moments into the dirty water of the pond. How the poor women would rave and suffer !

"All St. Peter's Church yard side was low and dirty, and from the Rock of the Church yard through Lister Gate to the Leen was one continued swamp."—*Deering*, p. 17.

The Civil War had begun in 1642, which would diminish the population by anxiety, privation, and disease, as well as by bloodshed. Passing over another hundred years to 1739 with peace and quietness, and civil and religious liberty, Deering gives (p. 12) the exact number of persons and number of houses, which with upwards of two hundred souls that he says were comprised in beadhouses, hospitals, workhouses, gaols, and the house of correction, amounted to 10,090. There are, however, certain streets left blank, for which, adding five persons to a house, 285, would give a total of 10,375. The largest number is given in Back Side (Parliament Street), 1,313; Narrow Marsh has 535; Long Row, 487; Castle Gate, 445; Hounds Gate, 332; Bridlesmith Gate, 331, etc.

In 1779, the population had become 17,791; and these had, by 1801, grown to 28,861; and fifty years later (1851), 58,530. By an extension of the Borough in 1877, 50,500 outsiders were brought in, and in 1908 the population is estimated by Dr. Boobbyer at 260,449.

The census of 1901 shews that there were in the City 16,353 more females than males, arising largely from the fact of so many women being occupied in the lace trade. Thus, while there were 6,925 males of ten years and upwards engaged in lace manufacture, there were 14,701 females so occupied, of which 9,150 were unmarried. This presents a great social difficulty, for which it is not easy to see a remedy.

Presbyterians. About 1654-5, says the late Rev. B. Carpenter, "or as soon as they could prove and clear their way," it was determined to establish a Presbytery in Nottingham and its neighbourhood, and regulations were signed by a great number of ministers and ruling elders, among whom were John Whitlock and William Reynolds, of St. Mary's, and John Barrett, of St. Peter's. Episcopacy had been abolished, and "an attempt was made by the Presbyterians, then the most influential party in the country, to establish the Presbyterian form of government by Act of Parliament. The attempt, however, did not succeed, and the Act was never passed. Various causes might be assigned for

this failure, such a form being contrary to the habits and wishes of the people generally; but one powerful cause was the opposition of Cromwell, and the Independents generally."

In the records of High Pavement Chapel, there are entries of proceedings during subsequent years. One on June 11th, 1656, has reference to the Tryers appointed by Parliament to enquire into the lives and doctrine of the clergy. Among those present were the elders of Greasley parish, and among them was Gilbert Millington, who was one of the Regicides. "Their confessions being read, were approved." There are records as to many of the parishes in the County, and as to the men whose names are mentioned in Chapter XLVII., but "there are evident proofs that the attempts to establish a Presbyterian form of government in the County of Nottingham were by no means uniformly successful." The last meeting of the Presbytery of which minutes are recorded was on June 6th, 1660, after which was a disturbed period, and the Restoration followed.

Vout Hall. Deering says: "On the west side [of the Postern, top of Drury Hill] stood a house, formerly called Vout Hall, once the Mansion House of the family of the Plumtrees * * It had its name from very large vaults which were under it, where in the time of the Staple of Calais great quantities of wool used to be lodged. In one of these vaults in the reign of Charles II., the dissenters privately met for the exercise of their religion, as they did after the Act of Toleration publicly, in a house at the upper end of Pilcher Gate. * * * This place, on account of Mr. Whitlock and Reynolds officiating in it, obtained the bye name of 'Little St. Mary's.'"—p. 4.

Nonconformists. William of Orange landed in England in 1688. The Declaration of Rights was presented 13th February, 1689. The Toleration Act, entitled "An Act for exempting Their Majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws" came into operation on the 17th May of the same year, and therefore Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers at once emerged from their hiding places and built houses of worship. "In two years, from 1688 to 1690, seven hundred and ninety-six temporary, and one hundred and forty-three permanent buildings were licensed for public worship." In 1686, the Rev. John

Ryther became the minister of the churches of the Independents of Sutton and Nottingham, and on 16th July, 1689, Mr. Ryther and Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Reynolds, who had been ejected from St. Mary's, and Mr. Barrett, ejected from St. Peter's, "conjointly registered places to be used temporarily in worship by their respective adherents. The Presbyterians registered some rooms in Bridlesmith Gate, while the Independents found a shelter for a brief period in Postern Gate, Middle Pavement." "The foundation of the first Castle Gate Meeting House was laid on 29th May, 1689, only a few days after the Toleration Act had received the Royal Assent. It was completed in four months, and cost £65 for the ground, and £257 10s. 10d. for the building. The timber cost £30; the bricks, at 11s. per thousand, £40; one man's wages was 1s. 6d. per day, but the majority of the workmen received 8d. or 10d. per day; the sawyers, 6d. The accommodation was for about four hundred and fifty worshippers. The Rev. A. R. Henderson, in his *History of Castle Gate Congregational Church, Nottingham, 1655-1905*, from which the foregoing particulars are extracted, suggests that money may now be taken as of four times the former value; but even thus, the cost was exceedingly small, suggesting the poverty to which the promoters had been subjected by persecution, but there were many gifts in kind.

The High Pavement Meeting House was built in 1690 or 1691, and the trust deed provided for the sale of the land, if "it shall become unsafe or impracticable to use the said building or meeting house for the exercise of their religion by the said people for the space of three years"—a precaution that happily has never had to be exercised. The chapel on High Pavement was for many years called "The Great Meeting."

Concerning the Quakers, Nottingham is one of three principal towns in the country where there are no early records. All the early business meetings of the Friends were held at Mansfield, not Nottingham.

Baptists. *The History of the Friar Lane Baptist Church, Nottingham*, by John T. Godfrey and James Ward, states that the Particular Baptists denomination is probably a more ancient denomination than the Independents, yet their early records are lost, and the chapel named is supposed to have been the third place of worship

THE PROSPECT OF NOTTINGHAM FROM THE EAST, ABOUT 1690.

erected in the Town for the use of that body. That chapel was built in 1724, at which time the land between Friar Lane (Park Street) and Hounds Gate was an orchard, and between Friar Lane and St. James' Lane fields and gardens, as was also the land on each side of Bearward Lane (Mount Street) up to Butt Dyke (Park Row). One of the earliest Baptist preachers in Nottingham was Abraham Booth, who kept a Day School at Sutton-in-Ashfield, "and performed his periodic journeys on foot."

Water. There was a Water Company formed in 1696, but Deering, writing in 1751 (p. 86), says the Water had been brought up to the Town in Water Carts, but a water engine had been set on foot which pumped the river water into the "Reservoir made in that part of Butt Dyke [Park Row], where the ancient Postern Stood * * * least at any time there should be want of water on account of the River Leen being low."

Nottingham is supplied with water from Sherwood Forest, and has an abundant supply, of which there is none better in England. A reserve of soft water from the Derbyshire hills, useful for mixing and for manufactures, is in prospect. Our great grandfathers were, however, satisfied in 1826, by obtaining an Act for supplying water to Nottingham, which recites that "much public benefit would be obtained if water from the river Trent were conveyed, etc.," and in 1827 an Act refers to the inhabitants, who "for many years last past have been and still are supplied with water from the river Leen." We want those rivers purifying, but should not now appreciate the waters for drinking purposes.

Light. Turning for a moment from water to oil, that was a very quaint title to give an Act in 1762, entitled "An Act for Enlightening the Streets, Lanes, and Passages of the Town of Nottingham." If oil lamps can "enlighten" us, we will all cry for more light.

It was not until 1819 that coal gas was first used to illuminate the streets. On April 13th, when ten lamps were lit, "attracted by the novelty of the light, thousands came out to indulge their curiosity, and numbers of the least informed of them scarcely dared venture upon the pavement near the pipes for fear of an explosion, or were lost in amazement at beholding flame exist without a wick."—*Date Book*, p. 327.

We can handle oil and see gas, but now electricity has come, which we can neither handle nor see, nor understand, but there it is, a mighty power and a light.

Notts. and Derbyshire. The two Counties were in the olden time somewhat joined in their administration. The King commanded the Derbyshire people, as well as the people of Notts., to come to the Nottingham Saturday Market. The Sheriff of Notts. was also Sheriff of Derbyshire, and the Notts. County Jail had to serve for both Counties. For ecclesiastical purposes, Parliament in 1836 severed us from York, and tacked us on to Lincoln; twenty-four years ago we were severed from Lincoln, and Derbyshire was tacked on to us. May we ever be happy in our companionships! But really, a diocese with four hundred and eighty-eight ecclesiastical parishes, and with an area fifty miles by forty-five, and over a million population, is an unwieldy one.

The area of the City is 10,935 acres. Its altitude varies from about 80 feet at Trent Bridge above Ordnance datum (mean water level at Liverpool), to 425 feet on Woodborough Road. It stands for the most part on Bunter Sandstone, but on the east the Keuper marls appear; on the north and west, red marl and magnesian limestone of the Permian series; and on the south towards the Trent, and in the valley of the Leen, and other small streams, are found the alluvium and gravels of the Trent and its local tributaries.—*Dr. Boobbyer.*

A Change. A thousand years has wrought a wondrous change. Four railway companies send out from Nottingham daily three hundred and twenty-five passenger trains. Two thousand four hundred and fifty electric cars each day leave the Market Place, and radiate in ten directions. Our University College has five hundred day students, and nearly two thousand evening ones. We have High, Public, Secondary and Elementary Schools, a Fine Art Gallery, a National History Museum, a School of Art, Free and Public Libraries and Reading Rooms, a Mechanics' Institute with four thousand one hundred and seventy-four members, and all kinds of religious, social and recreative advantages, accompanied by three hundred and thirty-two acres of recreation grounds and river embankment, forming such a complete contrast to the dreary past as to give hope for still further improvements for the bodies, minds, hearts and homes of an industrious, sober, well-conducted and happy people.

CHAPTER LIII.

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.

The Town is said to sit like a Lady upon the Rocks, which Drayton calls "the North's Imperial Eye," and the Castle is described by the late Mr. T. C. Hine, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a local architect of note, as having been a military fortress, a royal palace, a ducal mansion, a blackened ruin, and a Museum and Gallery of Art. The best historians, he says, agree that there was a strong tower on the Castle Rock as early as the eighth century, called in one of the title deeds "Cæsar's Tower," from which he thinks it seems probable that a tower existed there at the time of the Romans, similar to the tower at Dover, and he further suggests that there are the remains of the Roman *Sepulchrum Commune*, with the furnace chimney of the crematorium still to be seen in the rock caves near by in the late Mrs. Leavers' grounds. This, however, is very doubtful, and the tower would probably be earthworks stockaded.

Those grand old grey rocks on which the Castle stands one hundred and thirty-three feet above the base—what changes they have seen since the time when the adjoining ground sank, or was washed away by mighty floods!

The Danes. The Danish invaders realized the value of the great rock as a stronghold, and, in 868, marched from York and took it, and held it for nearly a year, when "the Peace of Nottingham" was made, to be followed by a re-conquest, in which the Danes held it nearly fifty years, of course, therefore, controlling the country round, the principal men of the Danes residing in the Borough. Alfred fought bravely and regained control, and in 910 Edward the Elder repaired the earthen wall round the Town. In the awful ravages of the Danes during the miserable reign of the contemptible Ethelred, it is scarcely to be expected that either the Town or the Castle escaped either fire or sword.

Normans. Whatever the building was before William the Conqueror's day, it was then, with a view to awe and terrify the citizens, built or strengthened "in a style

that was unknown before." Mr. Emanuel Green, in a paper read before the Archæological Institute, tells us that "the early defensive works often spoken of as castles were forts, moated and stockaded mounds, or strong earthworks strengthened by stakes and palisades, but without masonry. There is no defensive masonry in England before the Norman buildings." In the Domesday survey there is no mention of a Castle in Nottingham, and Mr. Green suggests that about 1100 or 1120 may be assumed as the time when the building became habitable. In 1141, the Earl of Gloucester deprived Peverel's son of the Castle, and imprisoned him, but, on obtaining his release, he regained possession by effecting an entrance through a secret passage—possibly Mortimer's Hole. 1153. The Duke of Anjou, who became Henry II., besieged the Castle, and the garrison burnt all the buildings near. "Henry, apparently fond of building, and especially castle building, soon started a new castle at Nottingham adjoining the old one."—*E. Green.* Considerable sums seem to have been spent at this time in building. In 1174, the Earl of Ferrers, and other powerful lords, took the Castle, pillaged the Town, and distributed the spoil among their soldiery. In 1177, a great Council was held at Nottingham, when England was divided into six circuits, each of which was to be visited by three itinerant judges. This Council was most likely held in the Castle. The Charters to Nottingham by the King, and the regulations of Sherwood Forest, which district he "afforested" as the royal hunting ground, must be noticed here. Very unwisely, Richard I. conferred the Castle on his brother John, whom he created Earl of Nottingham, but who rebelled against him, and the Castle had to be captured by force (1194), when a Parliament and Council was held in the Castle, and John condemned, but, being pardoned, he returned and resided in the Castle "in a style of dazzling hospitality and magnificence."

There was at this time a provision for the repair of the Castle by the proceeds of land known as the Liberty of the King's Manor of Lindhurst, near Blidworth.—*H. Gill.*

In 1199, John was crowned King, and here he is said to have hanged the twenty-eight Welsh boys who were held as hostages, and he imprisoned one Geoffrey, a Clerk of his Exchequer, and "did him to death by a strange torment: he closed him in leade, and so, by depryvinge him of al ayre, bereft him of his life withal."

In the grounds of the present Castle there has been rebuilt a specimen of the Town wall, commenced in 1267, and continued building at intervals, but it was never completed, "the first portion to be erected being the length from the Castle to Chapel Bar."—*Shipman.* Leland inspected it in 1538, and wrote: "Much of the waul is now down, and the gates savings 2 or 3. There were 6 or 7 gates in the Towne Waulle. Now all be downe save 3."

In 1252, Henry III. directed the Sheriff to do certain repairs, and make improvements. The walls of the chapel were to be painted with historical subjects, and the painting of "the Judgment to be dreaded" was to be put on the gable. 1264. The King spent the Easter previous to the Battle of Lewes at Nottingham, but after that event Simon de Montfort appears to have kept the King always with him, and not to have come farther north than Northampton.

1272. One month before his death the King ordered a postern to be built in the wall near the Castle towards Lenton, of such a breadth and height that two armed horsemen carrying two lances on their shields might go in and out. He afterwards came and entrusted the command to his son, who succeeded him as Edward I. During his wars with Scotland Edward frequently sojourned here, where he had several notable Scottish prisoners confined.

1330. Queen Isabella, mother of Edward III., was residing here, with a guard of one hundeed and eighty knights, when Mortimer was arrested and doomed, and shortly afterwards the King (Edward III.) called a Council of his lords temporal and spiritual, commanding them to meet him here "to consult with him of weighty causes concerning the state of the realm," and three years later (1337) a Parliament was held in the Castle, when an Act was passed inviting cloth-workers to come from Holland, giving them special protection and favour, on condition that they should carry on their trade here, and communicate the knowledge of it to his subjects. Thus was established the first manufacture of fine woollen cloths in England, and the wearing of foreign made cloth forbidden by any except the Royal family. Six years later a Parliament was held in the Castle, and afterwards the King advanced from Nottingham to Scotland with a strong army, when the Regent of Scotland and other noblemen were taken prisoners, and sent here for safe keeping until exchanged.

1346. King David of Scotland, having invaded England, was taken prisoner at the Battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, and it is said (though it is somewhat doubtful) that he was imprisoned in a dungeon here for eleven years, and was ransomed on payment of one thousand marks. In his cell he is said to have carved on the walls a representation of Christ's passion.

> "Here Scotia's monarch, doom'd to wear away
> Scarce conscious of its flight the dreary day,
> To pour where none might quench the gushing tear
> Till fainting nature stripped of death its fear
> . . . . . .
> He graved the life of suffering in stone,
> And traced his Saviour's woes to cheer his own."

In 1366, a new tower was built towards the west called Romylowes Tower, and on other works. "The stone was used from Baseford and Sedlyng [? Gedling], the timber from Shirewode and Lyndhurst."—*E. Green*, p. 383. There are two points of interest in connection with the entries connected with the above: one is that "sea coal" was used for burning the lime, and the other is that the working week charged was five and a half days. Query: had they five hundred years ago half-holidays?

1376. The Speaker of the House of Commons, for daring to speak against the King's ministers, was imprisoned here.

"The Earl of Murray was a prisoner in Nottingham Castle during the reign of Edward III., who allowed him £1 per week."—*Hicklin.*

In 1377, there was built a new tower over the gate of the Castle. Was that the lodge gate, now (1908) being rebuilt?

1387. Richard II. called the Sheriffs of the different counties to meet him at the Castle, and instructed them that when Parliamentary writs were issued no person should be chosen but such as the King and his Council should name, but the Sheriffs, with only one exception, replied that they could not comply with such demands. Here he (1392) summoned the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, and imprisoned them, and ordered the Court of Chancery to

be removed from London to Nottingham, and in 1397 summoned the Peers to meet him at the Castle, when certain lords were impeached.

1461. Edward IV., residing at the Castle, caused himself to be proclaimed King. At this time the terrible Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster—called the Wars of the Roses—raged, and the flag of the White Rose frequently waved from the Castle battlements. Edward IV. considerably enlarged and beautified the Castle, made it his favourite residence and a great military stronghold, and some years later held here a sumptuous Court, with great regal hospitality.

1483. Richard III. ordered the new works left unfinished by his brother to be completed, which rendered the Castle one of the largest and most magnificent buildings in the kingdom.

1485. He often resorted to a turret, on an eminence, which he called his "Castle of Care." This was called Richard's Tower. Part of the foundations of Richard's Tower are still in existence, and from the appearance of the stone this tower must have been blown up by gunpowder. It stood in what are now the grounds of Mr. F. W. Dobson, J.P., on the north-west corner, overlooking what is now Castle Grove and Lenton Road, the latter being then a dry moat, and there being a dry moat where Castle Road now stands. The late Mr. S. Collinson wrote "An Idyll of Nottingham Castle" named after it, commencing :—

> "Far down the valley of the Trent, a haze
> Of purple mist hung, when the sinking sun
> Drooped his broad shield, all tinctured with the blaze
> Of gules; like one who after victory won,
> Vested in glory lays his armour down
> And seeks repose beneath the welcome shade."

The book is adorned with a picture of the Castle, having a tall tower of three stories above the top of the battlements, with a flag floating at the top.

> "A tall tower, watching o'er the widespread plain,
> And seen from Charnwood's hills and Belvoir's heights,
> The crafty Gloucester built, and here again
> He longed for daylight after sleepless nights.
> 'Castle of Care' he named it, and a cloud
> Of guilty memories ever o'er it loomed."

The King climbs the tower as the darkness of evening comes on, but he cannot sleep, for the broad lightnings flash, and the thunder is loud.

> "But ever in the glare the wan King sees
> A shadowy hand that beckons to the hills,
> And a strange voice comes on the loaded breeze
> That his vexed soul with sudden terror fills:
> '*Richard, beware! Richmond is come; false friends*
> *And bitter foes are leagued against thy power;*
> *Above thy head a vengeful sword depends;*
> *Deepest his fall who stands on loftiest tower!*'"

The following morning a messenger arrived at the Castle with the news that Richmond had landed in Wales, had been welcomed at Shrewsbury, and from town to town had passed with applause,

> "And Richmond now at Litchfield lies encamped."

Messengers were at once dispatched

> "Through Sherwood's glades and down the vale of Trent"

summoning the loyal lieges to war. The King would have marched at once, but the day was the high festival of the Assumption of Our Ladye, and none may

> "With safety from the Church's rites depart."

So the King, with feigned humility, kneels in St. Mary's Chapel

> "While on the altar he rich offerings laid,"

and sought to bribe Eternal Justice. The next morning the troops assembled in the Market Place, and the march commenced, five abreast, over Trent Bridge, about twenty-five miles by Leicester to Bosworth, where Richard was slain.

> "A single battle shook down all his power;
> Deepest his fall who stands on loftiest tower."

The murder of his nephews in the Tower not only branded his name with infamy, but seems to have caused him inextinguishable remorse to the day of his death. In Shakespeare's Tragedy of Richard III. the ghosts of the several persons whom Richard had murdered are introduced in succession, as disturbing his sleep, and exclaiming: "Let me sit heavy on thy soul to-morrow!" "Despair and die!"

The successor of Richard III. was Henry VII., who on Thursday night, June 14th, 1487, held a great Council of War at the Castle, which all the great commanders and persons of distinction attended, and settled, as far as was practicable, the arrangements for the battle that two days afterwards was fought at East Stoke, near Newark.—See p. 72.

1511. The King, finding castles prejudicial to his government and the peace of the nation, demolished some, and neglected others—among the latter was that of Nottingham; but his son, Henry VIII., dated an order from "his Royal Castle of Nottingham." Possibly Cardinal Wolsey on his last journey to Leicester stayed here, but it is more likely he lodged at one of the monasteries.

1540. John Leland, Antiquary to the King, described the Castle as being built chiefly out of the stone dug from its great ditches; the east and south being well towered, the west side and hall as being in ruins; of there being a stately bridge, having beasts and giants, three chapels, and three wells; but the "moste beautifullest and gallant building for lodging is in the north side, where Ed. the 4th began a right sumptous pece of stone work, of the which he clerely finished an excellent goodlie tour of 3 heights yn building," being that before described as Richard's Tower.

1570. Queen Elizabeth made extensive "reparacions," but with that exception little appears to have been done for more than one hundred years, and in 1603, James I. made a grant of the Castle to Francis, Earl of Rutland, and to his heirs. The buildings became dilapidated, many of the goodly edifices were pulled down, and the iron and other materials sold.

1617. There is extant a ground plan of the Castle buildings as they stood at this date. It was made by Smithson, and a copy is signed "John Hutchinson." This has enabled the Royal Archæological Institute to give a view of a restoration based upon the plan of 1617.—See *Proceedings* for 1901, in the Nottingham Free Library.

In 1642, Charles I. planted his Standard in the interior of the Castle, on the top of a tower, after the example of Richard III. The next day the wind blew it down. "Why did you put it there?" asked the King; "It should have been set in an open place where everyone might have ap-

proached it—not in a prison." He had it taken out of the Castle, just outside the Park. Mrs. Hutchinson describes the Castle at length, and says "nature had made it capable of very strong fortifications, but the buildings were very ruinous and uninhabitable, neither affording room to lodge soldiers nor provisions."

1649. The King was beheaded at Whitehall, and afterwards Cromwell was fighting in Scotland, when Colonel Hutchinson, fearing Cromwell's ambition, and some of his creatures' self-seeking, and the insolence of the Army, "in Cromwell's absence he procur'd an order for the remoove of the garrison at Nottingham, commanded by his kinsman, Major Poulton, into the marching army, and the demollishing of the place; which accordingly was [1651] speedily executed." "When Cromwell came back through the country and saw the Castle pull'd down, he was heartily vext at it, and told Coll. Hutchinson that if he had bene there when it was voted, he should not have suffer'd it. The Collonell replied that he had procur'd it to be done, and believ'd it to be his duty to ease the people of charge when there was no more need of it."—*Mrs. Hutchinson*, p. 191.

Newark Castle was treated in the same way.

In *The Sieges of Pontefract Castle*, by Richard Holmes, occurs this passage: "Sir Marmaduke Langdale, when compelled to surrender, had been taken to Nottingham, and was in real danger of being tried for his life; while threats had even been made that he should be brought before Pontefract Castle [there has always been a remarkable parallel between Pontefract and Nottingham—the extreme north and extreme south of the new red sandstone], there to be hanged in sight of the garrison if they still refused to surrender."

1674. The Castle was sold to the Duke of Newcastle, who thereupon commenced to build the present palatial edifice, when he was eighty-two years of age. He died in 1676, and the building was finished in 1679. The Princess Anne (who afterwards became Queen Anne) in 1688, believing her father's (James II.) cause to be hopeless, privately withdrew from the Court, went to the house of the Bishop of London, and then, with that prelate and several ladies of distinction, took coach to Nottingham as a place of security, being accompanied by about forty horsemen, but when she

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE AND RIVER LEEN.

Photo by Mr. E. Gordon.

arrived at Nottingham she had a guard of two hundred men. She took up her residence in the Castle, and the Corporation subscribed £100 towards the expense of maintaining a guard of honour.

Mr. Gill says: "About the year 1795 the rooms were divided and let off to separate tenants, one portion being used for a time as a boarding school."

1831. The Castle was destroyed by fire by the rioters, who were indignant at the opposition by the Duke of Newcastle to the Reform Bill. £500 Reward was offered for the discovery of the offenders; four individuals were indicted, but acquitted, and £21,000 was awarded to be paid to the Duke by the ratepayers of Broxtowe. The firing was, of course, a wicked and senseless destruction of property; but, as usual, good came out of the evil, for the nation obtained the benefit of what the ratepayers of Broxtowe had to pay the price. The opposition to the Reform Bill was withdrawn; the big towns obtained representation; and the rotten boroughs became things of the past.

In 1864, the fifth Duke died. He was an excellent man; was known as the Crimean Duke—for he was Secretary for War during the Crimean War. There were great frauds by contractors supplying the Army, and neglect by the officials supervising, and the Duke, very undeservedly, was attacked, and took it to heart and died, having vested the Castle in his Trustees, the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Lord de Tabley, who, in 1875, leased the Castle for five hundred years to the Corporation, and it became a Public Museum and Gallery of Art, so its last days became its best days, for "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever." Would that an interpreter could be appointed to, at stated intervals, unfold the meaning, artistic properties, use and value of those works of art and vertu, which cannot be understood by passers-by, and who are therefore largely unedified! A popular history of the Castle, and description of the buildings of centuries ago, according to Smithson's plan of 1617, described in language understood by young people, and to be sold by the gate porter for a few pence would be a great advantage.

On a marble slab in the pavement at the southern entrance to the Castle are these words: "Robin Hood Rifles. The first drill commenced here on Monday, May 30th, 1859,

at six o'clock a.m., under the instructions of [afterwards Captain and Adjutant] now Major Jonathan White, January 1st, 1880."

Botany. In *Remarks on Botany for Beginners, with a Tabulated List of Plants found in the neighbourhood of Nottingham*, by Mrs. A. Gilbert, is given (p. 13) a list of the plants to be found in the Castle grounds and on the rocks, and she says "the Nottingham catchfly [*Silene nutans*], now so rare, nodded from the Castle Rock." One wonders if this plant has been preserved. Dear old lady! While this Chapter was in the press she kindly sent me by post her mother's *Original Poems by Ann and Jane Taylor* (Ann became Mrs. Gilbert), and promised to see me on her return home, but in less than a week she was gone to the long home, at the age of eighty. She was a good woman, of great service to the young.

In 1908, the ruins of the walls and towers are giving place to restorations that will add greatly to the beautiful appearance of the building that has seen so many vicissitudes. Mr. John Hicklin, the historian of the Castle, when he beheld the building a blackened ruin, says it reminded him of the words:—

> "And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself—
> Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind."

CHAPTER LIV.

NOTTINGHAM PARK.

Nottingham Park is unique in its location, elevation, legal relations, and otherwise. It was not until recently in any parish, but was extra parochial. It is now legally defined as "The District of Standard Hill, and the Limits of the Castle of Nottingham, in the Parish of Nottingham." The

church which it formerly contained is a church no longer. There is, however, within the ancient boundaries of the Park and Castle lands, a church which has no parish to it. The Park is an old enclosure, or park of the Castle, and formerly contained about one hundred and thirty acres. A part of it is formed of cliffs of an ancient sea, and one hundred and thirty feet below is a valley, forming a charming walk, in which the pedestrian may muse as to whether the ground has bodily sunk, or the sand rock has, in a remote age, been worn or wasted away by mighty currents, when England was at the bottom of the sea. In the valley is a deposit of gravel, and those great cliffs and mighty rocks on which the Castle stands tell—as may be seen on Lenton Road, and in Barrack Lane. and in the Tunnel—of the mighty force of water depositing the gravel, and of earthquakes rending the rocks asunder.

The River Leen formed the southern boundary of this enclosure, but that stream has a second time been diverted, as will be seen later on.

St. Mary-le-Rock. Probably the most interesting objects, from an antiquarian standpoint, are the caves now located in the late Mrs. Leavers' grounds, and which caves were formerly much more extensive than now. In old pictures they were designated "Papists' Holes," and being so regarded was the reason why the men in Cromwell's time largely demolished the place, thinking that they were destroying objects of superstition. From a time unknown these caves were devoted to religious uses, and were called the Chapel of "St. Mary le Rock," and sometimes were described as being "under the Castle of Nottingham," though not, of course, underneath. When the Leen was originally diverted, and caused to flow by the Castle, there seems to have been a small detour in order to avoid getting too near to the rocks. In some way, the chapel and its lands became the property of the Prior of Lenton, and, about 1474, King Edward IV. obtained the Prior's interest by giving in exchange the chapel of Tickhill, near Roche Abbey. In 1486, the Chapel of St. Mary, called "The Roche," and the lands and tenements, are referred to as within the "New Park"; the boundary fence is referred to as the pale of the said park; and a boat in the Leen Water is also mentioned. In 1524-5, in a report of the Castle and its appurtenances, it is said: "Also the lodginge in the Park called the Roche is in dekay and ruyne, in

tymber, lede, tile, and glasse." It appears then to be no longer a chapel, but a lodging, and a very uncomfortable one it must have been. For a full and clear account of this interesting place, see *The Churches and Monasteries of Nottingham*, by Mr. A. Stapleton; article: "An Enigma in Stone."

Standard Hill. Mrs. Hutchinson, writing of the time of the Civil War, and referring to what we now call Standard Hill, says: "Before the Castle, the towne was on one side of a close which commanded the fields approaching the towne, which close the Governer afterwards made a platforme. Behind it was a place called the Park, that belong'd to the Castle, but then had neither deere nor trees in it, except one, growing under the Castle, which was almost a prodigee, for from the root to the top, there was not one straight twig or branch of it."—p. 235.

Fish Ponds. The King's fishponds were formerly on the western side, and at the base of the rock. These were well stocked with fish for the use of the occupants of the Castle. In the rock cliff may be seen the caves formed, probably for the shelter of the fishing parties, but the ponds have been filled up, and now form gardens, and all that remains is the name, "Fishpond Drive." About 1720, the lake, or pond, was let as a reservoir to the old Water Works Company, who had a pumping station at the corner of Finkhill Street, but the Company neglected to cleanse the reservoir, and hence it became a kind of boggy swamp, to which wild fowl resorted, and on which was a boat for fishing parties. Mr. Barker, the writer of *Walks about Nottingham*, says that about 1789 two stately swans swam on the surface of the lake.

Deer. The Park was stocked with deer until 1717 (except as before named), about which time it was "disparked," so many deer being stolen, but was for many years allowed to be used as a kind of recreation ground, with cattle grazing, and children were fond of having milk supplied straight from the cow. There were "curious ridges, and covered passages," as Mr. Barker calls them, and which he supposes were made during the wars.

In 1719, an invasion was feared, and an Artillery Company was drilled in the Park, and there was target practice at the foot of the hill. There were forts or redoubts near the Derby Road entrance, but these seem to have been removed

about one hundred years ago. There was a cluster of trees about where the upper portion of Cavendish Crescent now stands, and also a fine row of elms circling round Derby Road and Barrack Lane ; the relics of seven of these may still be seen as hollow trunks, or beheaded martyrs, telling of former greatness.

The Barracks. The Cavalry Barracks, erected in 1792, on leasehold land, the lease of which expired in 1855, were pulled down between 1860 and 1870, the buildings having been purchased by Mr. John Loverseed. They stood on the south-eastern side of Barrack Lane. I remember seeing that fine regiment the "Scots Greys" on their march thence to the Crimean War. It may interest the young people to be told that in 1861 Blondin performed on the tight rope in the barrack yard, and carried a man on his back. The yard was a very large one (its length being about three hundred lineal yards), in which the Band played on Sunday afternoons. The officers' quarters stood in the centre, like one great house of—say a hundred rooms, but with many doors for separate houses or suites of rooms, each officer's name being on his door. The surgery and hospital was at the bottom, where two cottages now stand, and the magazine close by. There was a large well, and a great cellar. There were married men's quarters ; I think they were over the stables by Barrack Lane.

Barracks were to have been erected on the land where His Majesty's Prison now stands at Bagthorpe, and about eighteen acres of land was purchased for the purpose, but there was an outcry in the Town against Barracks, on the ground of their supposed tendency towards vice, and so the Barracks were erected near Derby, and near Leicester. It would have been better had the efforts been directed to securing for the men in the Barracks rational treatment, good sanitation, mental recreation, and reasonable provision for their wives.

Roads. In going from the site of the Barracks we pass the entrance to the Park, at North Road, which was formerly the main entrance, for the Lenton Road entrance was made about 1828, that road having been previously a dry moat, and building leases to several lots then in Park Valley and on Derby Road having shortly before (1827) been granted. At the North Road gate may be seen the stone posts that

formerly did duty at the Toll Bar on Lenton Sands, and having done their work there according to their station, were honoured by removal from unpopular posts to the entrance to a ducal estate.

The walk on the top of the cliff, by what is now called Western, Newcastle, and Park Terraces, or by The Ropewalk, which was the ancient boundary, was a charming and favourite one with a fine breeze, and having a splendid view, of which only glimpses can now be obtained.

The Hospital. At the upper end of Park Row is the site of the Postern, or gate in the outer wall of the Castle, at which a bridge was thrown over the ditch, by order of Henry III., in 1272, but only the name "Postern Street" remains. Between that point and the mound where King Charles planted his standard, was built that useful institution the General Hospital, which was opened in 1780, and has since been many times extended. More than one hundred and twenty years ago the Rev. John Wesley preached the Annual Sermon in St. Mary's Church, and spoke of the Institution in the highest terms, and recently Sir Frederick Treves said it was "admirable in every respect. It is most magnificently situated."

St. James' Church, 1807. Adjoining the Hospital is the Church of St. James, built also on the Park or Castle ground. The evangelical churchmen in Nottingham wanted to have what they deemed was a full gospel preached, and as the rectors and vicar of the three parish churches were regarded as of the "high and dry order," they determined to build a church for themselves; but this could not be done in the Town. They therefore bought some land on Standard Hill, within the Park extra parochial boundary, and proceeded to obtain an Act of Parliament to erect and carry on a church according to the rites of the Church of England. The Act recites that the adjoining land was being disposed of, and likely to be covered with respectable dwellings, and it would be greatly for the accommodation of the inhabitants for a chapel for divine service to be erected. The vicars opposed strenuously, saying they did not believe the land to the west would be built upon, but really they wanted their fees safeguarding, so a clause was put in the Act to that effect, and another clause that no new parish should be created.

This, however, did not satisfy the clergy, who said that the promoters were actuated by enthusiastic notions, and only wanted to place some popular preacher in the pulpit, and they desired a clause should be put in the Act to prevent any inhabitant of Nottingham being at liberty to attend; or, in other words, that no member of the Established Church ought to be suffered to go to any church except to his parish church; dissenters, however, might be allowed to go. The promoters retorted: "There are in Nottingham twenty-nine thousand persons who can have no accommodation in their parish churches if they were ever so desirous of it, and they are not all dissenters"—although they said there were thirty dissenting chapels and only three churches. "It is also a well-known fact," they said, "that very recently there were six hundred applications for seats from families in St. Mary's Parish, none of which could be accommodated." We may be thankful that, however unsatisfactory the state of affairs now is, it certainly is better than a hundred years ago.

The Act passed; the church was built. The contract for the building was for £6,600, with various extras. The Commissioners (*i.e.*, the Building Committee) met in a now forgotten institution, "The Sunday School Committee Room," in Rose Yard, Fletcher Gate. The pews were sold by auction for about £40 each for the freehold, subject to 40s. per year rental, entitling the purchaser to a vote for Parliament. One donor of £1,000 had the first presentation to the pulpit, another of £700 to the second, and one of £630 to the third. A lawsuit with the builder followed, and in some way, including all expenses, White says the cost was nearly £13,000. The minister was paid a salary of £200. We may not admire either the architecture, the scheme, the opposition to it, or the present position of a church without a parish; but the erection of a church in the centre of the Park would involve the creation of other evils, for a fashionable church is highly undesirable, and the location of the church is in one respect an ideal one, where the dwellings of the rich on the one side and the poor on the other, enable them to meet together. Of course, all the peculiarities—the votes, the sales, the high-backed pews, etc.—are things of the past, and the church, with its courteous vicar, is now doing a good and useful work under peculiar disadvantages.

Brewhouse Yard. Proceeding southward we come to the old castle brewhouse, and to the many holes in the rock that were formerly human dwellings, and afterwards, in the time of the plague, formed places to which the plague-stricken were driven or carried, for God, not man, to cure them, or for them to die. Here we pass Mortimer's Hole, in the base of the castle rock ; and here ran the River Leen ; but in 1883-4, its course was diverted into the canal, for the purpose of forming the Castle Boulevard, or low level road to Lenton, which is a great public improvement, negociated by Mr. G. T. Hine, representing his father It is said that Mr. T. C. Hine, who then represented the Duke of Newcastle, wanted, instead of the diversion, to have the river beautified and purified. Gordon's Wharf, from which pleasure and traffic boats used to go, had to be swept away, and a new road into the Park was made.

The Tunnel. The Tunnel was probably the only mistake made. The idea was to provide a convenient approach from the Derby Road to the lower part of the Park, but experience showed it was not appreciated, and was liable to abuse. It, however, makes an attractive footpath, and furnishes a splendid specimen of geological formation.

The Present. Under the superintendence of Mr. Hine, and his able assistant—afterwards his partner, Mr. Robert Evans—the whole estate was planned, and formed into building lands, and it reflects great credit to the agent, as well as to the owner, the Duke of Newcastle, who might have had straight roads, and artizan cottages, and it would have paid better to have done so ; but a more artistic form was adopted, and now, with half a dozen tennis grounds and bowling greens, with boulevards and fine residences, with shady walks where lovers plight their troth, the whole forms an enclosure within five minutes of the Market Place unique for a large town, and an example of good management and comfort that one would have to travel far to see excelled.

CHAPTER LV.

THE NOTTINGHAM INCLOSURES.

The first inclosures would be for defence from the outside, and would consist of earthworks, walls, ditches, or otherwise ; the last inclosures were for extensions from within of lands not used as private property.

The commonable lands were outside those boundaries, and in process of time seem to have become private property, subject to certain rights. The result was that houses could not be built on the Lammas land, and this accounts for the crowded condition of the old parts of the City. Wherever in the old Town a house could be built it was erected, regardless of air, light, and sanitation. There were, however, several small inclosures before the general one of 1845.

It may be desirable to explain the term "Lammas"—originally "Loaf-Mass"—the Feast of First Fruits, usually August 1st. Old Lammas was twelve days later. Candle-Mass, February 2-14 ; the candles then being blessed, and the land closed until the hay had been cleared.

In 1839, where the Midland Station now stands, twenty-nine acres were enclosed under an Act, and on Burton Leys, where Trinity Church now stands, four acres were at the same time enclosed. The Midland Railway paid 8s. per yard for the land they purchased, but they had courage enough to buy only four thousand yards of the burgesses' land. In 1840, the land where the Roman Catholic Cathedral stands —eighteen acres in extent—was enclosed.

Lammas Land. The Town was hidebound by what was called Lammas Land, that is, although it was divided into fields belonging to various owners, yet at certain seasons of the year each burgess had the right of pasturage over the whole land. Thus, there were in the Meadows three hundred and thirty-four acres of fertile grass land, divided by what was then called the Flood (now London) Road. On the western side, from July 6th to Old Candlemas Day, each burgess had a right to the pasturage of three head of cattle, or forty-five sheep, except from the 13th of August

to the 3rd of October, when the stock was turned out for the purpose of letting the herbage grow. In the East Croft the rights were different, and belonged to many poor and aged burgesses and their widows. Over Trent Bridge there was land which belonged to the aldermen, now used chiefly for recreation.

The Sand Field was the land between Wollaton Street and the Forest, and the Clay Field was east of Mansfield Road and adjacent streets. Here were six hundred and fifty-four acres subject to the general depasturage of the burgesses from 12th August to 12th November. About two hundred years ago these fields were entirely open, and were cultivated two years by their respective owners, and on every third year they were enjoyed exclusively by the burgesses. But as this plan was inconvenient to both parties, it was agreed that each proprietor should fence his own lot; that the land should be laid down for mowing and pasturage; and that two gaps should be made in each fence on the 12th of August, so as to admit the free range of the burgesses' cattle till the 12th November.

Waste. The Forest and Mapperley Hills were regarded as forest and waste, on which the burgesses turned their cattle at any time. These parts were one hundred and twenty-four acres and fifty-seven acres respectively. The Hunger Hills were a part of the Forest, and divided into four hundred gardens, for each of which £1 a year rent was paid. The Coppice Farm of one hundred and ninety acres was part of the Royal Chase, and said to have been "given to the Corporation by King James as a mark of respect for the handsome manner in which he was treated when enjoying his carousal at St. Anne's, in 1615, when the sportive monarch, with a number of his toping courtiers, and the Corporation, *drank the Wood-ward and his barrels dry*."

The Act. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1845, commissioners were appointed to ascertain everybody's rights in the lands around the Town, to make provision for satisfying such rights, to make roads, to sell lands to meet expenses, and then to divide and allot the lands according to the respective rights.

In doing this, considerable alterations to the surface of the land as it stood were made by the commissioners or their surveyor, Mr. Frederick Jackson. For instance, two houses,

NOTTINGHAM FROM THE SOUTH, 1846.

Nos. 23 and 25 Shakespeare Street, as may be seen, are two feet below the street level, but when they were built they stood six feet above the ground level, and they have not sunk, but the street was raised eight feet instead of six feet as expected, to the loss of the first builder. On the other hand, Woodborough Road was three times lowered near Emmanuel Church before the present level was settled on. If a person wanted to take a conveyance from the Market Place to Mapperley, the road was not by turning off at the top of York Street up Woodborough Road, nor at St. Andrew's Church up Mapperley Road, for there were no such roads, except that Fox Lane led to gardens, and continued as a foot path, and when the streets named were formed they were for several years in deep clay ruts, but the former road to Mapperley was up Red Lane, now Redcliffe Road, then a very bad road between high clay banks, now covered by stone walls. Alderman Burgass had a brickyard at Mapperley, and the road being impassable in winter time, he carted the bricks down in summer time, and "canched" (piled) them on the waste land opposite to the Carrington Police Station, ready for winter use. The removal of the dozen windmills on the Forest was probably owing more to the new mode of grinding by steam and rollers than by the action of the commissioners.

Canon Brooks. The vicar of St. Mary's was then a very quiet, good soul, who, however, was long-sighted, and he saw that the Town would grow. He surrounded himself with half a dozen earnest zealous churchmen — Thomas Adams, F. B. Gill, Colonel Holden, W. Windley, and others—who bought plots in various parts where they thought a church would be required, and they put up a temporary or permanent building, as they had the means, vesting the land in trustees, whose successors now exercise great care in the appointment of succeeding vicars. This accounts for good men being secured in about ten of the district churches of Nottingham.

The Inclosure Act did not work for the benefit of everybody. Land on the outskirts of the Town was, before the passing of the Act, very dear. On Carlton Road, in the parish of Sneinton, there was land for which the owners wanted £1 a yard, and, it was said, refused 17s. 6d., but they overstood their market. Building land became plentiful, and that same land was twenty years later sold at 4s. 3d. per yard.

The general operation of the Act has been a great good, and a Town which, when the Act began to operate, had about sixty thousand inhabitants, has in sixty years become (with the extended area) a City with two hundred and sixty thousand souls.

Delay. The Commissioners, although appointed under an Act passed in 1845, did not make their Award until twenty years afterwards. The writer acted as the secretary of an Indignation Meeting and Committee of Freeholders, in 1860, when we complained bitterly of the delay, and in my notes of a speech prepared for a meeting held in July of that year, I used this illustration of the difficulties arising from delay: "When Trinity Church people, wishing to build a parsonage near the church, applied to Queen Anne's Bounty for a grant, the title was referred to Counsel, and by Counsel rejected, because the Award had not been made, and the Commissioners had power to change allotments. The grant was, therefore, refused, and they were driven to build Trinity Parsonage entirely out of the district, up against the Park Water Works"—Ropewalk Street. We also complained of the narrow streets set out, of the winding streets, involving houses being built with zig-zag fronts, and of there not being reserved sufficient land to pay for paving the streets, and so rates had to be made on allottees.

A grand opportunity was lost, as the Town might have been made a model one, with squares, boulevards, and open spaces. It must, however, be remembered that the Town had, so far as improvements were concerned, been for some centuries asleep; that modern ideas had not obtained; and that the pressure brought to bear upon the Commissioners by the land owners was very great, for they begrudged the public getting any benefits. Still, we may be thankful that fine estates were secured by the Corporation on the north, north-east, south-east, and south of the Town.

The prevailing spirit in the Inclosures was not the Commissioners, but their clerk, Mr. Edwin Patchitt. He was a fine example of a self-made man; he entered the office of Mr. Sculthorpe, solicitor, as office boy, and the wheel of fortune so turned that Mr. Sculthorpe ended his days as a clerk in the employ of Mr. Patchitt, who became Clerk to the County Justices, Registrar of the County Courts of Nottingham, Mansfield, and Bingham, Clerk to the Governors of the

High School, to the Inclosure Commissioners, etc. He was Mayor in 1859 and 1860. The High School was built, and the Church Cemetery formed under his direction. He built the Forest House, where the Children's Hospital now is, and the district around is called after him "Patchitt's Park," the western side of which from the old Lodge—still to be seen—was in the old time called the Waste, and at the southern boundary, where the rock stands up forming an escarpment, there are big caves, which formed a shelter for unsettled folk.

It is due to state that in the early stages of the Inclosure the progress was slow, and hardly appreciated by the public. As an evidence of this, land on High Holborn (the disused name may be seen on No. 53 Talbot Street) stood at 2s. 6d. per yard.

The Award. By an Award dated 29th June, 1865, the Commissioners, Messrs. Hy. Edison, of Worksop, John Horncastle, of Edwinstowe, and Thomas Huskinson, of Epperstone, appointed under the Act, recite that the lands round the Town were at certain seasons of the year subject to rights of common, and that the Commons of Nottingham Forest and Mapperley Hill were subject to rights of common at all times, and the Freemen of the Town, and the occupiers of old Toftsteads, and the inhabitants, and the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses claimed to be interested. Lord Manvers claimed to be entitled to corn tithes in some parts, and the Vicar of St. Mary's in others, and there were claimants for the tithes, or tenths, of hay for the Free Grammar School, so that the lands could not be improved and cultivated to the best advantage. They recite that they had set out the boundaries of St. Mary's and the adjoining parishes; that they had apportioned certain lands for the payment of expenses; that they had set out certain roads, and discontinued others, including footpaths in various directions described; they determined what were public roads, what roads should be substituted for existing ones; what others should be formed.

Some of the names given to the roads seem to have been very queerly chosen. We should scarcely have expected to find what we call Waverley Street described as Back Lane Road, or Sherwood Rise as Basford Road, or Woodborough Road as Goose Wong Road, or Shakespeare Street as Larkdale Road, or Bath Street as Meadow Platts Road, or Sherwood

Street as Shaws Lane Road "terminating at Forest Road at or near Mars Hill," Arkwright Street as Trent Bridge Road, Peel Street as Babbington Road, Clarendon Street as Cemetery Road, Robin Hood Street as Recreation Road.

There are some curious directions as to footpaths, drains, and waterways and sewers. There are interesting directions as to exchanging lands for Handley's Almshouses, which were a row of thatched cottages on the eastern side of Stoney Street, and for a school that used to stand on the southern side of Canal Street. They allot 6 a. and 28 p. for a Recreation Walk called Queen's Walk. Land for the Meadows Cricket Ground, 6 a. 1 r. Bath Street Recreation Ground, 4 a. 18 p. St. Michael's Recreation Ground, 1 a. Robin Hood Chase, 4 a. 17 p. Corporation Oaks, 1 a. 6 p. St. Ann's Hill, 2 a. 1 r. 21 p. Elm Avenue, 1 a. 21 p., and ditto, 1 a. 2 r. 11 p. The Arboretum Approach, 1 a. 20 p. The Arboretum, 15 a. 3 r. 28 p. The Forest, 70 a. 1 r. 7 p., with various other lots, making 77 a. 30 p., which are for ever to be public places of recreation. Four acres was allotted for the Church Cemetery according to the rites of the Church of England, and four acres to the General Cemetery for persons dissenting from the rites of the Church of England, to be held by trustees named, and their successors. Allotments were made to the Vicar in lieu of tithes; to the Corporation, as Lords of the Manor; to Lord Manvers in respect of corn tithes; to the trustees of Micah Gedling for tithes of hay, and the like to the Charitable Trustees; to the Vicar of St. Mary's for glebe lands; to the Freemen for rights of pasturage; to the owners of ancient Toftsteads; to the Corporation in respect of the rights of inhabitant householders; certain lands so that the views from St. Ann's Hill might be uninterrupted. They then proceed to allot the remainder of the lots to the several owners. The Award is dated 29th June, 1865, and was proclaimed on Sunday, 2nd July. It occupies, with the schedules, four hundred and thirty pages, I am indebted to R. H. Speed, Esq., for a perusal of a copy.

The last Inclosure was an extension of the Borough boundaries in 1877, when the Parishes of Sneinton, Lenton, Radford, Basford and Bulwell were incorporated in the Borough, to their great advantage.

SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER LVI.

SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL.

When in a letter sent to every parish in Nottinghamshire in 1109 by Archbishop Thomas, he released us—the inhabitants of the County—from making an annual pilgrimage to York, which had previously been our duty—for the diocese of the Archbishop of York was originally co-extensive with the Kingdom of Northumbria—and told us that if we went to the church of "Saynt Mary of Southwell" we should have all the benefits that we could otherwise obtain by going to York, it was a great relief, for the road to York was in those days largely through forest, and therefore risky and wearisome; and thereupon the Collegiate Church became of interest to the entire County, and the re-building of the fabric on a larger scale was begun. Besides convenience, there was not a saint at York Minster of the first class, so that there was not the inducement to travel so far. A saint like Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury, who could be the occasion of a King going on to his knees in penance at both Canterbury and at Avranches, in Normandy, was a power to draw with, for at Canterbury the numerous pilgrims who went to visit the scene of the "martyrdom" brought such gifts as to enable the monks to do more than they had originally designed, and they consequently began to build a chapel in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr, and the oblations of gold and silver and other valuable articles continued to be bestowed for three hundred and fifty years. This was lacking at York, but at Southwell there was, or had been, a shrine, for in some Anglo-Saxon manuscripts written about 1000, and completed before 1030 (quoting from Mr. W. Stevenson in a paper on "The Early Churches of Notts.") there is a passage that reads: "There resteth St. Eadburh in the Minster at Southwell, near the water called the Trent." Now Eadburh was a royal lady, being the daughter of Aldwulf, King of East Anglia, and she had been the Abbess of Repton, from which place she sent to St. Guthlac, the founder of Croyland Abbey in the Fenlands, a leaden coffin and a winding sheet, and besought him by the holy name of the Celestial King that after his departure hence they should place his body therein. St. Guthlac died at Croyland in 714, having directed

that the terms of the gift should be carried out "for love of the Maid of Christ." Southwell was one of four holy shrines in minster churches collegiate in character north of the Trent, the others being St. Wilfred's, at Repton; St. John's, at Beverley; and St. Cuthbert's, at Durham. Probably, however, both church and shrine at Southwell were swept away by the Danes, and St. Eadburh was forgotten.

It is singular that in the Domesday Book (1086) there is no mention of a church at Southwell, but there must have been one. About 956, there was a royal grant of a demesne of twenty manors to the Danish Archbishop of York. Later on, Archbishop Alfric Puttoc, is said to have rebuilt the Minster. Three of our Kings were Danes, including the good Canute, so that the destructive work would probably be followed by constructive work. Domesday Book tells us that the Archbishop had at *Sudwelle* ten ploughs in demesne. "3 Clerks [clerici] had $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, 2 bovats of it are in a prebend," which implies a church.

Whether Paulinus had any connection with Southwell it is difficult to decide. Tradition certainly favoured the claim.

The Invitation. However, when in 1109 the Archbishop gave our whole County such a warm invitation to go every year to Southwell, and promised blessings both spiritual and temporal, there was a very ready response. The Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham set the example, and went in procession on horseback every Whit Tuesday. A ride through the forest, and a good dinner at the Saracen's Head (assuming it to be then built), would, of course, be very agreeable, and this pilgrimage the Corporation continued to make for hundreds of years. From every parish in our County the priest and the churchwarden went, and took their Pentecostal offerings. It was not much money they took. Dickenson's *Southwell* gives a list of the fees for every parish. Nottingham took 13s. 4d. (and we find the same sum mentioned in the Corporation Records in 1606); Hucknall, 1s. 6d.; Arnold, 2s.; Edwalton, 6d.; and so on, the total being £15 18s. $7\frac{1}{2}$d., and difference of value must be remembered. It, however, showed a feeling of loyalty, and doubtless various ecclesiastical business matters were transacted at the same time. Then followed the great crowd in multitudes from every part of the County, and some from more distant places. From the hamlets on the sandy forest,

from the villages in the fertile Trent Valley, and from the wild wolds. It was Springtime, when sweet charming May puts on its dress of vigour and beauty; for the January frosts had gone; the February fill-dyke had refreshed the springs; the March winds had dried the ground; and the April showers had told all the vegetable kingdom to open its buds and show its flowers. The wood anemone, the primroses, the violets, cowslips, daffodils, and coltsfoot had responded. The hawthorn, willow palms and catkins, the chestnut, elder, wild cherry, and other forest forms would speak to them as they passed—for the modern inclosures and cultivation everywhere were then unknown—while in the homesteads they would see the plum, and pear, and apple blossoms adorning the trees. The butterflies, bees, and other insects would be flitting around them, and all through the woods the song of the cuckoo, the lark, the blackbird, the thrush, or other birds of song would be heard. It was not, however, for the observance of nature they went. The book of Nature was to them a sealed book, and only few persons then, as now, could look "through nature up to nature's God." Some of them went with heavy hearts, having sin on their consciences, and they wanted pardon and rest. It is true they could have had these at their homes, but they did not know it. It was as true then as now:—

> "Jesu where'er Thy people meet,
> There they behold Thy Mercy Seat.
> Where'er they seek Thee Thou art found,
> And every place is hallowed ground.
>
> For Thou, within no walls confined,
> Inhabitest the humble mind;
> Such ever bring Thee where they come
> And, going, take Thee to their home."

The communion of the individual soul with God is independent of time, place, and surroundings, but some of us can best realize the things of God in the grand temple, with its adornments of art, music, and ceremony; and to such persons, the greatest and grandest building in the County may have been a help heavenwards.

It may be that many went with great ailments of body as well as of mind. There were no doctors in their villages—the surgeon's art was unknown; and they thought by presenting themselves before a noted sacred shrine they would

get help, or other pilgrims would tell them of herbs or other remedies, or a good priest would know of some means of benefit, or at the holy well south of the church they would obtain a cure; and so they went in faith, and doubtless many of them came away strengthened and cheered and full of hope.

Promises. There was a great combination of spiritual forces for the erection of the building. "A letter of request, which was issued in the year 1352, from the Chapter of York, for the purpose of collecting the alms and charitable contributions of the people within that city, diocese, and province for the furtherance of this fabric of St. Mary, of Southwell * * ," recites the indulgences formerly granted to those who should charitably relieve it. From Pope Boniface VIII. forty days' pardon, but seven other Popes did better, for they granted "one year and forty days' pardon each." More blessings were, however, to follow: "Moreover the benefit of thirteen masses celebrated in this church of Southwell, four for the living, eight for the dead, and one for St. Mary. Also three thousand masses, ten thousand psalters in the fifteen abbeys and priories of the Cluniac and Sempringham Orders within the See of York, and in three hundred and seventy abbeys of the Cistercian Order. The advantage of all which masses, mattins, vigils, prayers, and other spiritual benefits, the benefactors of this fabric shall for ever receive. And all the priests and other ecclesiastics who shall promote this indulgence, shall participate of all those and other good things, which God Almighty knows what!" Dickenson, quoting the appeal, says: "None could refuse a small pittance to St. Mary when the loan was to be repaid with such ample interest!!"—p. 218.

Three thousand masses and ten thousand psalters in order to secure "the good things which God Almighty knows what!" What strange ideas of God some men have. The Bible, our only source outside of Nature of information as to the things of God, presents to us an infinitely loving God offering abundant blessings, and beseeching men to come to Him and accept them,—"an infinitely useful God," to adopt Kingsley's words—always blessing everybody, and Who gave His only begotten Son as a proof of His love, and Who will with Him freely give us all things; and yet the Church presents Him as a Being to whom much speaking, and constant appeals, are to be made in order to obtain "the good things which Almighty God knows what!"

There is another consideration. The chantry priests—that is, the priests who received the income from the endowment for the chanting of masses, and the offering of prayers for the souls of the departed—were sometimes—only sometimes—immoral men, and the prayers of wicked men are hateful to God and man. There were in Southwell Cathedral nine chantry chapels served by thirteen chantry priests, who, like the vicars, formed a separate community. The Rev. G. M. Livett, B.A., in his *Southwell Minster*, says: "The conduct of the vicars of Southwell, and other subordinate ministers of the Church, like that of their brethren of York, seems to have been no credit to the Church. They were frequenters of taverns, shows, and other low meetings, leading, in fact, a generally loose life," and he thereupon gives in support a quotation from Archbishop John Romanus, 1294. Their fines were for swearing in the church, two shillings to the fabric; one shilling sufficed for swearing outside the church; "or, if the canon resident thought fit, the offender had to go about on a certain Sunday carrying on his back, tied round his neck, an old leathern knapsack." The standard of morality among the clergy was a low one, but the means adopted for raising it were certainly amusing.

Building Dates. The principal building dates of Southwell Cathedral are given in *Notes on the Cathedrals* as follows. About—

650—A church said to have been built.
1025—A second church said to have been built.
1110-15—The present building begun.
1233—The choir rebuilt.
1290—The chapter house.
1330—The choir screen.

As the pilgrims during the two hundred years of erection returned home they would tell of the wonderful building that was being put up for the glory of God—and it is a wonderful building. Seated in the nave, and seeing those massive Norman columns and arches, you are impressed with thoughts of everlasting continuance, of gigantic strength, of the contrast of the building that has stood for ages, and is as strong as ever, while the generations that have looked on it are passed away; and then your thoughts go up to the unchangeable God—the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever—and you hum a silent tune of the Old Hundredth Psalm paraphrased:—

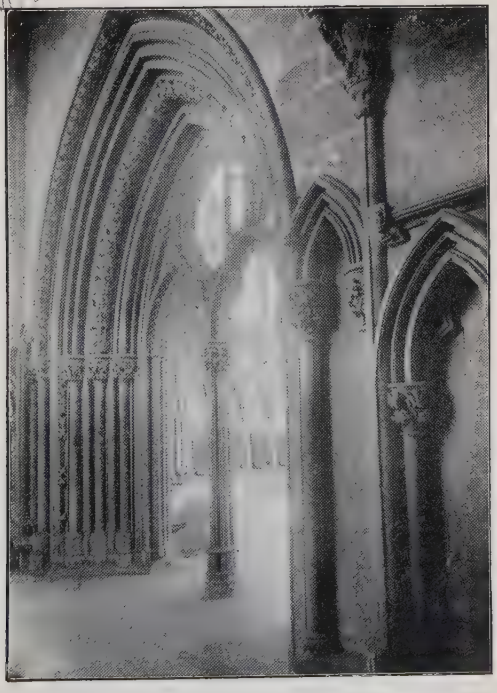
"Wide as the world is Thy command;
Vast as eternity Thy love;
Firm as a rock Thy truth shall stand
When rolling years have ceased to move."

Leaving the nave let us go into the choir. Here we are surrounded by a different style of architecture—the "Early English"—and the impression on the mind is that of pleasure caused by light, gracefulness, artistic decoration, beauty. It must be borne in mind that one hundred years or more had passed since the erection of the Norman building, and the church was found too small for the number of people that at great festivals flocked to the place. It was therefore decided to enlarge the building by pulling down the Norman choir, and building on a much larger scale; but there was a difficulty, for that one hundred years had been distinguished by the building of grand cathedrals and churches, both in England and on the Continent. The proof of this may be ascertained on an enquiry into the date of the foundation of the buildings referred to, and the building in many places, by many minds and hands, had brought into fashion a different style of architecture, in which more light and greater elegance prevailed. It is singular that in stone buildings, as in everything else, there should be changes of fashion. We may, however, learn a lesson from the builders of Southwell Cathedral. Some people want to pull down before they build up—it may be a constitution, a custom, or a habit. On the other hand, these men built up before they pulled down, so the old choir was largely within the new, and building from the east end westwardly, all they had to do was to make the necessary connection when they were ready to join the two parts of the building together.

Before quitting, we must take a look at the choir screen, which is said to be the most beautiful in England, and was built one hundred years after its surroundings, and in the Decorated period.

Now let us go into the vestibule and chapter house. Of the latter, Ruskin said it was "the gem of English Architecture," and Mr. G. E. Street writes: "What either Cologne Cathedral, or Ratisbon, or Wiessen Kirche are to Germany; Amiens Cathedral or the Sainte Chapelle are to France; the Scalegere in Verona to Italy—are the choir of Westminster and the Chapter house at Southwell to England." It is not,

CHOIR, SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL.



CHAPTER HOUSE, SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL.

however, the geometrical proportions of the building that is to be noticed, so much as the beautiful carving in stone that adorns it. That doorway entrance to the chapter house is simply perfection ; so are the capitals ; while the canopies to the stalls are very graceful. The beauty of the carving has been so well described by the Rev. J. F. Dimock, that here is a transcript of his words : "The foliage everywhere is most beautiful ; the oak, the vine, the hop, the ivy, the maple, the white-thorn, the rose, with a vast variety of other plants, are sculptured with exquisite freedom and delicacy, and no two capitals or bosses or spandrels can be found alike, no wearisome repetition of beautiful parts tires the eye, but everywhere we meet in ever-changing and ever-charming variety with some fresh object of interest and admiration. What is very usual in work of this date, figures are frequently introduced amidst the foliage : I have already mentioned the heads, with branches issuing from the mouth, which occur in the spandrels above the stalls, others of the spandrels have birds or lizard-like monsters ; in the capitals a man reclines beneath a tree, puffing lustily away at a horn, or a goat is gnawing the leaves, or a bird pecking the berries, or a pair of pigs are grunting up the acorns, or a brace of hounds just grabbing a hare. Unhappily there has been much injury from wet finding its way through broken windows and defective roof, and very much from wanton mutilation ; still, no more beautiful and interesting sculpture perhaps is to be found in any church in England. Of very much of it, it is not too much to say that it is the work of no mere chiseller of stone, but of a consummate artist, than whom it may be well doubted whether any sculptor, of any age or country, ever produced anything more lifelike and exquisitely graceful."—See *Southwell Minster*, by the Rev. G. M. Livett, B.A.

Cathedral Builders. The author of *The Cathedral Builders in England* is of opinion that there is no sufficient ground for supposing that Freemasonry had anything to do with the building of our cathedrals and best churches. On the other hand, "a King with a taste for art would gather together the personal craftsmen of excellence, and take them out of common employment. We read accordingly of appointments—not only of the King's goldsmith and the King's painter, but of the King's mason and sculptor. And the accounts in the Rolls Office, which give the expenses of the making of the monuments to Queen Eleanor, show

that there were one thousand two hundred and ninety stone carvers who made images outside their working at a building as independent sculptors ["imaginatores"] in competition with the goldsmiths production of wood and metal saints."

"London, no doubt, was the earliest and chief centre of the trades of church furnishing; but at the end of the thirteenth century York, Bristol, Nottingham, etc., followed suit, and thereafter the craft of cathedral builders was one thing, and that of cathedral furnishing another. The screens, figures, tombs, and shrines might have no connection with the local mason craft that had built the walls and carved the capitals." "It was all an evolution extending over centuries, but its starting point came in the moment when the architectural scheme surrendered its most skilful workmen to the demand for special work—as, for example, when they called up to London to carry out the King's fashion, or to carve the statues of Queen Eleanor."

Who were the architects and builders of these grand old buildings? Nobody knows. Had they been built in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries the names of the architect and builder would have been cut in a very prominent position. In some modern cases it looks as if the poorer the design the more prominent the architect's name; and as if the builder who did the work (and whose lowest tender was, of course, accepted, and the work guaranteed to be completed within six or twelve months, under a penalty of £1 per day), has had to get an advertisement for his name as a compensation for his small profits; while every donor of a five pounds foundation stone must be immortalized;—but this refers to the present age of art and progress!! while in the dark ages it sufficed for a man that God knew he had done his best. The architect now makes the plan, and gives detailed drawings to each department for every part of the work. The result is a sameness and tameness, as may be seen at Truro Cathedral. We cannot build cathedrals now. If you doubt it, contrast the magnificence of Westminster Abbey with the ugliness of the new Catholic Cathedral near by. In the olden time it is difficult to trace the architect. In the guide books it is said that "Archbishop So-and-so" built the nave, or the choir, or the chapter house; but all that is meant is that he untied the money bags—of course, a very necessary act—but the man who designed the inimitable work, and put his soul into it, as well as the man who executed it in a manner that money

cannot now buy—these are unknown. The author of *The Cathedral Builders of England*, Mr. Ed. S. Prior, says: "Though Bishop Jocelyn must be called the builder of Wells front; though Poore must be associated with Salisbury and Durham, and Grosseteste with Lincoln—such bishops were neither the designers nor the surveyors of the building, any more than such big personages could have gone on the scaffold, or chiselled the statues." There must have been among the ecclesiastics or the monks trained men who were always designing objects of beauty, or executing works of art and skill—such as ivory carving, the illuminating of books, cutting in stone, and such like—but the modern architect was unknown. Somebody went to Mansfield and Mansfield Woodhouse and chose the best stone, and set men to get it, and others to convey it over the old road the Romans had made a thousand years before. Somebody went to Sherwood Forest, and chose and cut the best trees; and so with all other materials; and there must have been a large body of skilled masons who travelled from place to place, who prided themselves on the quality of their work, and to one or more of whom a presiding mind said: "Brother John, prepare a window, or a doorway, a capital, or other portion of stone work; use your skill and taste; remember it is work for God and for the ages, so it must be your best; time is not so important as good work;" and the number of Brother Johns that did such work must have been great, while what strikes a stranger is the unity of taste, with great diversity of subject and method.

Before leaving the sacred edifice, let us attend the afternoon service, not as spectators, or merely as listeners to the singing, but as personally taking part in the worship the building was erected to promote; and so let us heartily sing with that blessed woman the Mother of Our Lord: "*My* soul doth magnify the Lord, and *my* spirit hath rejoiced in God *my* Saviour"; and let us take home a lesson such as this: That inimitable stone work shall teach me that whatever I have to do in my daily occupation, whether it be in feeding cattle, or in cultivating land; in cooking food, or in making articles of clothing; in machinery, or in music; in the house, the office, or the mart; or whatever and wherever, it shall be well done, according to the best of my ability; done as for God; and so *my work* shall be to me an inspiration, a worship, and a joy for ever.

The old palace, built about 1360. but some think nearly a hundred years later, now in ruins, must always be an object of interest. As we gaze upon the remnants of former greatness, we think of how within those walls Richard, the lion hearted, rested, followed by John, and many other kings. We cannot forget Wolsey spending his last summer there, a better and a wiser man than he had ever been before. We can mentally see King Charles I. followed by Cromwell, and alternately by Cavaliers and Parliamentarians; and then a period of decay and neglect follows; and now we see a part of the ground occupied by a modern brick dwelling-house, plastered on the outside, and whitened, but doubtless internally atoning for outward baldness by every modern convenience. Perhaps the bareness and baldness of the exterior was wrought, not so much for cheapness, but so as not to detract from the glory of the adjoining building. In any case let us wish the Bishop and his wife and family many years of health and happiness, and of useful work for God and for His people, in the home to which they were appropriately welcomed on June 29th, 1907.

We shall have a good tea at the Saracen's Head, in the room where King Charles *gave* himself up to those who sold him, and we can there meditate on the words: "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

CHAPTER LVII.

SHERWOOD FOREST.

"Dear native scenes of Sherwood—all!
Hill, woodland, plain, and dell!
I view ye with a lover's eye—
A lover's heart, as well!
For from my boyhood's joyful hours,
Hath it been mine to roam
Amongst you far away, yet still
Feel everywhere at home!"—*Spencer T. Hall.*

Bilhagh. The simple grandeur of the trees in Sherwood Forest is such that no apology is necessary for quoting the words of William Howitt in his *Rural Life of England*. In speaking of Bilhagh, he says: "A thousand

CRESWELL CRAGS.

BISHOP RIDDING'S MONUMENT, SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL.

years, ten thousand tempests, lightnings, winds, and wintry violence, have all flung their utmust force on these trees, and there they stand, trunk after trunk, scathed, hollow, grey, gnarled, stretching out their bare sturdy arms, or their mingled foliage and ruin—a life in death. All is grey and old. The ground is grey beneath, the trees are grey with clinging lichens—the very heather and fern that spring beneath them have a character of the past. If you turn aside, and step amongst them, your feet sink in a depth of moss and dry vegetation that is the growth of ages, or rather that ages have not been able to destroy. You stand and look around, and in the height of summer all is silent; it is like the fragment of a world forsaken. These were the trees under which King John pursued the red deer six [now seven] hundred years ago. These were the oaks beneath which Robin Hood led up his bold band of outlaws. These are the oaks which have stood while king after king reigned; while the Edwards and Henrys subdued Ireland, and ravaged Scotland and France; while all Europe was seeking to rescue Jerusalem from the Saracens; while the wars of York and Lancaster deluged the soil of all this kingdom with blood; while Henry VIII. overthrew Popery, wives, ministers, and martyrs, with one strong, ruthless hand; while Elizabeth, with an equal hand of unshrinking might and decision, made all Europe tremble at a woman's name, ... Here they stood, while the monarchy of England fell to the ground before Cromwell and the Covenanters; while Charles II.—restored to his realm, but not to wisdom—revelled; while under a new dynasty, the fortunes of England have been urging through good and evil their course to a splendour and dominion strangely mingled with suffering and disquiet, yet giving prospect of a Christian glory beyond all precedent and conception. Through all this these trees have here stood silently—and here they are! monuments of ages that cannot be seen without raising in our souls remembrance of all these mighty things. To the contemplative mind they are inscribed all over with characters of strange power. They show us at a glance, and with a palpableness which few things besides possess, how far the day of their first growth is past by—how far the ages of feudalism and civilization lie asunder."

Birkland. In the sister-wood of Birkland, or "the land of the birches," Mr. Howitt says: "Old and mighty oaks scattered about, ay, some of them worn down to the very

ultimatum of ruin, without leaf or bough, standing huge masses of blackness; but the birches, of which the main portion of the wood consists, cannot boast the longevity of oaks. Their predecessors have perished over and over, and they, though noble and unrivalled of their kind, are infants compared with the oaken trunks which stand amongst them. Birkland! it is a region of grace and poetry! I have seen many a wood, and many a wood of birches, and some of them amazingly beautiful too, in one quarter or other of this fair island, but in England nothing can compare with this. It must be confessed that the birch woods which clothe the mountain sides, beautify the glens, and stud the romantic lochs of Scotland, derive a charm from the lovely and sublime forms of those mountains, glens, and waters, which is not to be expected in this lowland country. . . . . But Birkland has some advantages which they have not. Its trees have reached a size that the northern ones have not; and the peculiar mixture of their ladylike grace with the stern and ample forms of these feudal oaks produce an effect most fairylandish and unrivalled."

Magna Charta. In the sixty-three covenants that the barons compelled King John to sign, many of the clauses directly affected our County where the King had spent so much time, and had so much property. The forty-third section particularly provides for limiting the King's power where he had in his hands forfeited property "as of the honor of * * * Nottingham," and the forty-seventh clause provided that "all forests that have been made forests in our time shall forthwith be disforested." See verbatim copy in the *Times History of England*," p. 627. The King had extended Sherwood Forest at the North-east and in Hatfield, or Heathfield, to beyond Warsop, so this district would then be disafforested.—*Dr. Cox.*

In an article on "Forestry," by the Revs. Dr. Cox and R. H. Whitworth, it is pointed out that in a charter granted by John to Ralph Fitz-Stephen and Maud de Caux his wife, of the liberties and custody of the forest of Sherwood, there is given to them "all goods and chattels belonging to thieves taken by them within the Forest." Robin Hood and his merry men appear about the end of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century.

Under the Norman law all deer belonged to, or was claimed by, the King, and largely successive Kings availed

themselves of their so-called rights. King John had eighteen forests, thirteen chases, and seven hundred and eighty-one parks. A chase was an open forest not subject to special forest law; a park was an enclosed chase on the land of the owner; a purlieu was an addition made to an old forest.—*Chambers.*

The Forest. It had its exact boundaries laid down in 1232, which included most of the central part of the County, being roughly speaking, twenty miles by five to eight, with Nottingham at one extremity, Mansfield being at the head in another direction, whilst Worksop was close to the northern boundary. The lower Forest is spoken of as between Leen and Dover-beck. Thorney Wood and High Forest were the two grand divisions, the former being so called because of the quantity of thorns and underwood growing upon it. There grew immense quantities of bilberries, which were gathered by the poor, and sold, and to whom it was a considerable source of profit.

Camden, writing of the Forest about 1586, says "it was anciently thick set with trees whose entangled branches were so twisted together that they hardly left room for a person to pass," and in 1568, though it was said to be much thinner of wood than formerly, it still bred "an infinite number of deer and stags with lofty antlers"; but one hundred years later Thoroton tells us "the pleasant and glorious condition of this noble forest is now wonderfully declined."

Offences. The penalty for what we call poaching was death, but afterwards one of the forest laws of Sherwood Forest (1253) said: "Noe man from henceforth shall lose his life or his member for huntinge, but if anie be taken and convicted of the takings of venisone hee shalbe grevouslie redemed yf he have anie thing whereof he may be redemed. And if he have not he shall lie in our prison by one yeare and a daie. And if he after a yeare and a daie can find pledges he shall goe furth of prison, or else he shall sweare the Realme of Englande."

For carrying honey out of the Forest, two men were at Nottingham in 1335 fined 12d., in addition to 6d., the value of the honey.

The Forest Courts were held at Edwinstowe, Mansfield, Linby, and Calverton. The presentments for stealing deer

were numerous. Thus, at Nottingham in 1334, "the number of venison presentments at this eyre was 119." For taking a load of branches, for trespassing by night, for striking a hind with a stone, for agisting animals in the Forest, and for various other offences, fines were levied.

"The burgesses of Nottingham had a chartered right to pursue the fox and hare in Sherwood Forest, and this right was held to warrant certain burgesses keeping greyhounds at an eyre of 1538." Justices in eyre were itinerating judges who held Courts on circuit.

The wild cat was usually associated with the fox and hare in chartered rights for forest hunting. Sometimes the martin or the badger, the otter, the squirrel, the rabbit or coney, were in the permission given. Swans, hawks, falcons, partridges and pheasants, herons, woodcocks, bees and honey, etc., were the subjects of enquiry.

The Forest was much infested with wolves, and in order to drive them away an officer was appointed, and endowed with lands. Sir Robert Plumpton, in 1433, held one bovate of land in Mansfield Woodhouse, called *Wolf-hunt-land*, by service of winding a horn and chasing or frightening the wolves in Sherwood Forest. Probably that was the condition in an old tenure, for the wolves were most likely exterminated before that time.

In 1538-9, an interesting return was made of all the "Kinge his game" both red and fallow north of the Trent, which showed that there were in

Bestwood Park	...	700	fallow,	140	red
Clypston Park	...	60	,,	20	,,
Grynley Park	...	150	,,		
Sherwood Forest	...		about	1000	,,

Apparently a hundred years afterwards the number in the latter forest must have greatly increased, for "when Lord Lexington's father was Lord Warden there was always three or four thousand head of deer, as the Crown did generally keep so many or more."

We may now see the fallow deer in various parks, but to see the red deer to perfection we must go to the land of "Lorna Doone" in Somersetshire and Devonshire, where in a large and wild region they are strictly preserved. They are much

bigger, more dashing, and more destructive to the farmer than fallow deer. "I saw twenty-two head of them treading down my ripe standing corn," said a farmer. "Did you feel inclined to shoot them?" was the enquiry. "My dear fellow, if I did so," was the response, "my life would not be worth two days' purchase." Everybody joins in the sport, and the farmers the heartiest of all, and when a stag is reported as bounding near to a village all business is suspended, the children shout, horn responds to horn, until the stag is brought to bay, and the string or procession of stag-hounds, riders, and followers a mile long, having had a twenty miles run, return to their homes. Possibly a like scene in miniature occurred in Sherwood in the olden time when our King would a hunting go.

The summer of 1624 was one of great drought, and very unhealthy. When the dryness was the most severe—on the 23rd of August—there was a great fire in Sherwood Forest, caused by some ill-slaked charcoal that was being carted falling accidentally among the ling, causing "such a fire as was never known in manes memory, being 4 mille longe and a mille and a hallfe ouer all at once. And had it not plesed the Lorde to turne the winde at an instant when it was sesinge opon a great and longe wood that was betweene Mancefellde and Nottinggame . . . . . it was thought it woullde have burnte up all the cuntry before it as far as Nottingegame."—So says the writer of an anonymous paper in the British Museum.

The inhabitants of Edenstow (Edwinstowe), in 1680, petitioned the King "for 200 decayed oaks unfit for Ship Timber or Wood to the Value of £200 to be given them out of His Majesty's Hays of Billhay and Birkland within the said Forest towards the repair of their Church, being very much in decay," "Which the Surveyor General reported might be done without prejudice to the Naval Service or without defacing of the Woods if they be set out dispersedly," "for so charitable a work." Were they to be blamed or pitied? Did they think oaks unfit for ship timber or wood good enough for God, when we should give Him our best, or were they sure that if they asked for the best they would not get them?

When Sir Christopher Wren was building St. Paul's in 1695, the Duke of Newcastle having promised ten of the great

trees from the Forest, he wrote the Steward that what he most required was beams for the roof, which must be forty-seven feet long, and thirteen or fourteen inches depth at the small end. So we may suppose that some of Sherwood Forest timber is in St. Paul's now.

The gentry of the County, in 1708, presented a petition praying to be delivered "from the intolerable burden of the Queen's deer," which destroyed their crops, but they did not get much comfort from the reply, for they were told that they had "bought the land with the incumbrance, and it was past all dispute that the Queen had as much right to it as any man has to his own coat."

We are told by Major Rooke that Mr. Wylde, of Nettleworth, who died in 1780 at the age of eighty-two, said that he well remembered one continued wood from Mansfield to Nottingham.

Famous Trees. "The Duke's Walking Stick" formerly stood in Welbeck Park, unmatched for height and straightness, 111 ft. 6 in. high, contained about 440 feet of solid timber, the weight of which was estimated at 11 tons. The acorns of this oak one hundred years ago were carefully saved and distributed as presents among the Duke of Portland's acquaintances, so that it doubtless was the parent of many oaks now living.

"The Greendale Oak" (from its growing in a valley of that name near Welbeck) is said to be the Methuselah of the trees, girthing thirty feet at five feet up. It had in 1724 an opening made through it capable of allowing a carriage or three horsemen abreast to pass through. The circumference of the trunk above the arch Major Rooke gave as 35 ft. 3 in., the length of the arch was 10 ft. 3 in , now it is 9 ft. high by 7¼ wide on one side, and 5⅛ on the other. One hundred years ago the Major estimated the age at seven hundred years, but Throsby said it was supposed to be fifteen hundred years old. See a picture of it, taken in 1720, in *The Royal Forests of England*, by J. C. Cox, LL.D.; London: Methuen & Co.

"The Queen" or "Major Oak," near Birkland, measures at four feet from the ground 29½ feet in girth. It is nearly seventy feet high, and its branches have a spread of ninety

THE MAJOR OAK, EDWINSTOWE.

By permission of the Nottingham Printers Ltd.

feet. A dozen persons can enter the hollow trunk at once with the usual tribute of a kiss, for the old ballad says:—

> "There never came maid to the greenwood tree
> But paid the forester's bounty fee."

"The Parliament Oak," on the side of the road leading from Edwinstowe to Mansfield, was the place where tradition says King John held an informal Parliament in 1212, and in November, 1290, Edward I. summoned a Parliament. The tree was 28½ ft. in circumference at three feet up, but is now chiefly a shell, from which a young tree has started on the top of the encircling bark, and bids fair to have a perpetual youth.

"The Shambles Oak" is said to have served as a larder for Robin Hood, and to have often resounded with the mirth of his merry men.

"The Two Porters" stand at the north end of Welbeck Park. The girth of one was 25 ft. 8 in. at five feet up, and of the other 23 ft. 2 in.

Many of the forest trees have been sacrificed to provide dockyard timber for navy purposes. One hundred years ago there was much scarcity in oak timber for shipbuilding, but some of these trees were, as objects of picturesque effect, worth more than gold, and their loss leaves us the poorer.

Marks. Hayman Rooke, Esq., writing of the Hays of Birkland and Bilhagh in 1794, says: "In cutting down some trees in Birkland, letters have been found cut or stamped in the body of the tree, marking the king's reign, several of which I have in my possession. One piece of wood marked 'J. R.' [James Rex] was given me by the woodman who cut the tree down in the year 1786. He said the letters appeared to be a little above a foot within the tree, and about one foot from the centre; so that this oak must have been near six feet in circumference when the letters were cut. A tree of that size is judged to be about one hundred and twenty years growth. If we suppose the letters to be cut about the middle of the reign of James I., it is one hundred and seventy-two years to the year 1786, which, added to one hundred and twenty, makes the tree two hundred and ninety-two years old when it was cut down. . . . . I have been told that 'J$^{N.}$ R.' [John Rex] have been found cut in some of the oaks. One

piece, said to be marked with 'John Rex,' and a crown, I have in my possession, but it is not sufficiently made out to be inserted as a fact, though the person from whom I had it assures me, from his having seen others more perfect, that it is marked with 'Jon. Rex.' Others have 'C. R.,' and several have been marked with 'W. M.' [William and Mary] with a crown."

The Forest, which had in 1609 ninety-five thousand one hundred and fifteen acres, of which forty-four thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine acres were then enclosed, has by a great number of Inclosures sanctioned by Parliament, been curtailed to a mere fraction of its former extent; but what remains ensures not only our admiration, but the gratitude of every lover of Nature to the Duke of Portland and to Earl Manvers, who, as the noble owners, are the guardians of the priceless treasures, and who, at great cost to themselves, preserve them for our admiration; and we may properly express our indignation at those despicable men who injure the most beautiful objects in our County, and cause the liberties of decent people to be restricted, lest wholesale destruction should follow.

Timber. How singularly history repeats itself! We cut down the trees growing everywhere around us in order to clear the land, and we neglected to plant others. Scarcity arose, and a wholesale system of planting was adopted towards the end of the eighteenth century, and our ships went and fetched the timber required from Sweden and elsewhere. For one hundred years we have neglected planting, and our foreign supplies are becoming exhausted. The demand for timber is increasing, for its use is now adapted to a multitude of purposes in every industry. The result is that prices are increasing, and a timber famine will probably be upon us before we are prepared to meet it.

In Nottinghamshire, however, there has been during the last quarter of a century a considerable increase of the area devoted to the growth of timber, there being in June, 1905, a total under Woodlands of 30,433 acres, and Dr. Cox, after going into details, says, "Nottinghamshire may be safely placed among the comparatively few counties in which the woodlands have largely increased during the past hundred years," p. 381.

Afforesting. Our climate is surely better for growing timber than Norway and Sweden. We in 1907 imported twenty-seven million pounds worth of timber. — *Timber Trades Journal.* "We pay about twelve millions a year to foreign countries for a class of timber which we could profitably raise on our waste places at home."—*Chilbrans.* Such a course would find employment for many men on our sandy soils, or our strong clay lands, and would supply timber near at hand for our collieries. The question, however, must be approached from a national standpoint. Parliament must deal with limited and life interests in the ownership of land, and with loans on lands planted, as well as with parochial rates, and possibly railway rates; but of all things the question wants taking in hand from a scientific and thoroughly business standpoint.

CHAPTER LVIII.

NEWARK.

Newark, the Sidnacester of the Saxons, has reason for congratulation in regard to its antiquity, its church, its castle, and in other respects. It has not only a good tale to tell, but that tale has been told in a manner that no other town of its size can excel. *The History of Newark*, by Mr. Cornelius Brown, is a work of which Newark may well be proud. Nottingham has had many historians, but none at all approach the recourse, the care as to detail, the diligence shown in obtaining information, and the mode of illustrating it, that Newark's historian displays; and that life-work—that monument better than a gravestone—was strangely crowned with the pathetic fact that four days after Mr. Brown had finished correcting his last proof sheets, he laid him down and died.

Early History. Possibly a thousand years before the Christian era men worked where Newark stands, and an illustration of the tools they used is given at page 2 of Mr. Brown's book—at least, such is the conclusion arrived at by antiquarians who have examined the tools now in Canon Greenwell's collection.

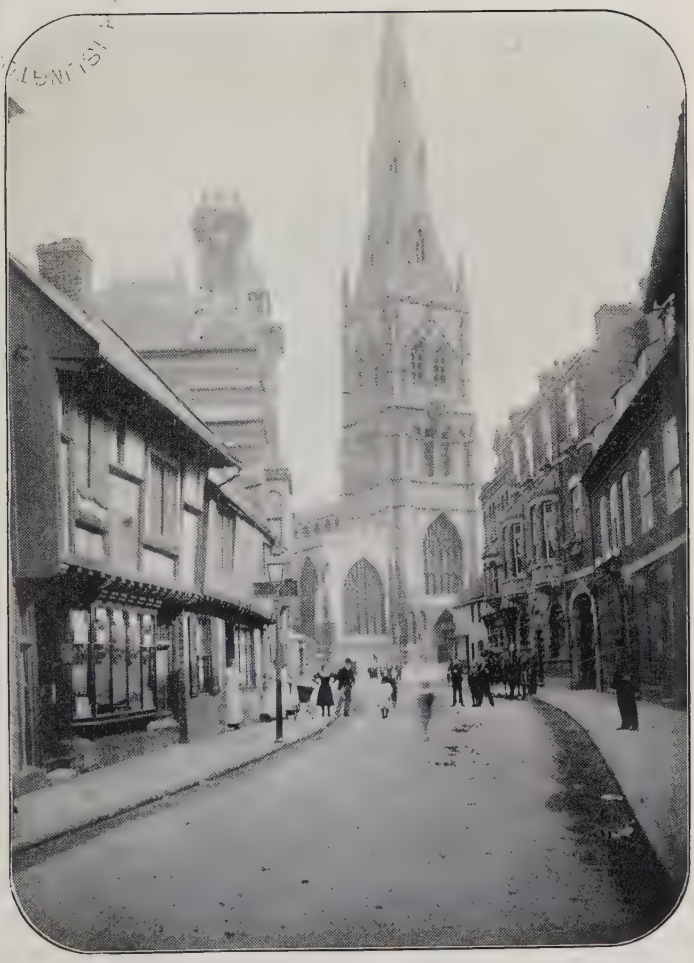
Countess Godiva. The Manor of Newark, before the Norman Conquest, belonged to the famous lady whose name is connected with Coventry. In 1055, she gave the Manor (together with that of Fledborough) to the Church of Stow, and by exchange of lands it passed to the Bishops of Lincoln. Lady Godiva had also six bovates of land at Edwalton, near Nottingham, which was assessed to the Danegeld.

The Castle. Those old grey walls tell of men and events the like of which will never again appear. The builder, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln (1123-1147), rebuilt a castle which it has been stated Egbert the Saxon had erected. The Bishop was one of those men who missed his vocation, for he ought to have been building characters, not castles—military ecclesiastics were not ministers of the Prince of Peace, a class happily belonging to a past age. It was well that it might be said of him : "This man began to build and was not able to finish." He had the will, and money, and men ; but there came (1139) one stronger than he—King Stephen—who said : "This is mine"; and the King took the place of the Bishop.

Seventy-seven years later King John, having been borne there on a litter—for he could not walk—received a summons to appear at the bar of a tribunal higher even than that of the King of England or the Pope of Rome, to answer for the deeds of a bad life, and he could not refuse to go.

Visited repeatedly by kings on their way to and from Scotland, attacked and invested, those old grey walls resisted besieging forces, and for five hundred years held their own against all comers, until King Charles I., having ordered the evacuation of the town by its garrison, Parliament ordered the castle to be dismantled, and a building that might have become of great service in many ways was senselessly destroyed, and formed a quarry for succeeding generations. Its last days have been its best, for through the benefactions of individuals, and the enterprize of the Corporation, recreation for the health of the people, and food for their minds, have taken the place of battering-rams, gunpowder, and destruction.

The Church. Newark Parish Church is the finest old church in the County. That tall spire—two hundred and fifty-two feet in height : the same in height that the church is in length—lifts up its finger towards heaven, and for many miles round is a sermon in stone, telling men



NEWARK CHURCH.

to lift their thoughts higher than their cattle, their worries, or their sports. The church that was here at the Conquest passed away, leaving not a vestige behind. About one hundred years after the coming of the Normans they, in 1160, built another church, of which the crypt underneath the present building is an interesting relic, and many a pious citizen was buried in its holy ground. Our old churches, unlike our present ones, were built in centuries. The Early English tower was built about 1230, the south aisle of the nave in the Decorated period was added in 1313, and two generations added their quota to the work, when that awful Black Death appeared, and swept away probably one half of the builders and the inhabitants, and for nearly one hundred years building was stopped, the north aisle of the nave being built before 1460, the chancel by 1498, and various other parts followed in the next generation.

The church was thoroughly restored fifty years ago under Sir Gilbert Scott, and so escaped the hacking about to which so many of our so-called restorations were subject. It now stands a building of noble proportions, "a thing of beauty" and "a joy for ever."

Chantries. They must have been very pious in the olden time, those Newarkers, for there were sixteen chantries and more, at the altars of which prayers were offered for the souls of the founders, and all these were those of citizens. The priests lived in the chantry house in Appleton Gate, in a house that preceded the mansion now known by that name, but on the same site. The chapels and altars are of the past, but let us hope men now in the church pray as heartily for the living as formerly men prayed for the dead.

Incorporation. In 1547, the Manor and Castle of Newark, with the Manors of Farndon, Balderton, Coddington, Winthorpe, and Morlande, became the property of the Crown, and there followed, in 1549, the Incorporation of the Borough under an alderman and twelve assistants, Anthony Forster being the first alderman. A copy of the charter is given on p. 365 of Mr. Brown's history. After this followed the extension of 1558, when Alderman Leverett, who obtained an enlarged charter, with three assistants to be chosen by him, were to be "Justices of the Peace in the towne and have authoritie, with a man learned in the law, to execute justice in the said towne as other Justices of the

Peace in the County of Nottingham do, and to send prisoners to the jaole of the shire with their warrant, and to have a prison of their owne for the punyshment of trespassers and breakers of the peace, with a jailor to the same, and two serjeants at mace, also to appoynt and choose the constables of the said towne. And that the Justices of the Peace of the Shier of Nottingham shall not meddle with any matter done within the liberties of the towne without the consent of the alderman and some of the other assistants that be Justices." —*Brown*, p. 28.

In 1625, under Charles I., Hy. Gill was sworn in as the first Mayor.

Old Inns. What a tale those old inns would tell of social changes if they could speak. The oldest house in the borough, now occupied by Messrs. Bainbridge, formerly the White Hart; the Saracen's Head (1341), and the Clinton Arms, from which Mr. Gladstone addressed the free and independent electors in the year of the Reform Bill, 1832—all could tell of days of strife and struggles for liberty, now enjoyed, but not duly prized. The Beaumond Cross was named in a deed six hundred years ago (1310).

The Sconce Hills. The great earthworks tell of the struggle between King Charles I. and the Parliament, and Newark boasts of how it stood faithful to the King's cause, and fought, and terribly suffered, in what it believed to be the cause of constitutional government. Mr. Brown has given great attention to the history of the borough during that period, and shows the enormous sacrifices made by the people, the vigorous sorties sent out from Newark to far distant places on behalf of the King's cause, and at last the sad surrender.

The sleep of generations is now passing away. The adaptation of the castle grounds, the opening of a free library and palatial coffee tavern, the introduction of engineering trades, the building of a science and art school, the building and transfer of the Magnus Grammar School for boys, the schemes whereby the funds of the Song School (where no songs were sung) and the Jersey School (where no jerseys were made) are placed in due working order, and the girls will soon have a proper school—these, and other indications, tell of life and activity still to be displayed for the benefit of the Town, the County, and the Kingdom.

Persons who visit Newark on a half-holiday cannot do better than provide themselves with *A Guide to Newark*, by Thos. M. Blagg, F.S.A., price 6d. It well indicates what to see, and how to see it.

CHAPTER LIX.

BASSETLAW.

The Wapentake, now the Hundred, of Bassetlaw, and, roughly speaking, also the Parliamentary Division, is a little County of itself, containing about sixty parishes, including Retford, Worksop, and Tuxford, and drawing a line from Sookholme on the west, to Fledborough on the east—not straight, but with a considerable dip southward into Sherwood Forest by Bilsthorpe, Kneesall, and Starthing Moor—all that part of the County north of such line is within the boundaries of Bassetlaw. The district is a fertile one, rich in coal, stone, and other minerals, and an industrious and happy people.

The battle on the Idle in 617 (p. 23) tells of struggles long past, as do also the names of the villages ending with "by," such as Scrooby, Barnby, Walesby, Saundby, etc., tell of the Danes coming up the Humber, and turning up the Idle, forcibly taking possession, and settling. Ranskill is a corruption of the Danish word Ravenskelf, "the Knoll of the Raven." The Abbeys of Welbeck and Rufford, the Priories (pp. 98-120) of Blyth, Worksop, and Wallingwells, and the Nunnery of Mattersey, served their day and generation, and then, like trees, decayed and were cut down. The Archbishop's palace at Scrooby, and lodge at Laneham, tell of departed greatness (p. 121). Of this the Rev. J. Raine says: "I find the Archbishop of York possessing [1086] lands and privileges in no less than about one hundred and eighty different places in Yorkshire, and in nearly fifty places in our own County of Nottingham, the great Manors of North Notts. being those of Laneham and Sutton." The latter included its berewick, Scrooby. The ducal and lordly mansions—hence called the Dukeries—of Welbeck, Thoresby, Rufford, Serlby, Worksop Manor, and the various houses of the owners of broad acres, who willingly devote much of their time to the

good government of the county and country, show magnificent trees, and beauties natural and acquired. The glories of Sherwood Forest tell of Robin Hood, and the royal hunting days of past centuries. Scrooby tells of the Pilgrim Fathers and their struggles for religious liberty. Fines and imprisonments upon and of the Quakers in Bassetlaw seem to have abounded from 1659 to 1676. That quiet vicarage of Markham reminds us of Mrs. "Markham's" *History of England*, written by a daughter of the Vicar of Fledboro', her *nom de plume* being "Markham"—which in a past generation did much to enlighten the young as to the deeds in the days of old of their countrymen, and the Markhams claim that it was not Judge Gascoigne, but a celebrated member of their family —Sir John Markham, a famous judge—who in the days of Henry IV. committed the Prince of Wales to the Fleet for misconduct, and the King thanked God he had so good a judge and so obedient a son to yield to law. How one would like to wander into each village and hear and tell its tale for the benefit of the whole—but space forbids. The Rev. J. Raine, in his *History of the Parish of Blyth*, gives particulars of interest relating to Barnby Moor, Bilby, Torworth, Ranskill, Scrooby, Hodsock, Oldcotes, and Styrrup, the Tournament Ground (see p. 58), Bawtry, and Austerfield.

Churches. There are in Bassetlaw many churches with histories and architectural points of great interest. Among the best of them may be named Worksop, Laxton, East Markham, Blyth, Tuxford, and others.

East Retford. The incorporation of the borough is supposed to have taken place between 1185 and 1200, by Richard Cœur de Lion, and various privileges were granted in 1246, 1279, 1336, and by succeeding monarchs. Thus, Edward I. gave a Court with powers of the assize of bread and beer, the pillory, ducking-stool, wrecks, waifs, etc. He also granted a fair, and James I. incorporated the borough anew.

Retford Church. *A History of East Retford Church*, by Arthur A. Kidson, B.A., LL.B., tells us all that is known of the church, of which there is no record till 1258, but it is thought that a church, possibly a wooden one, existed long before that time. In 1288, the Pope gave a tenth of the annual value of the income of the benefice for six years to be devoted to a crusade. In 1528, there was a terrible fire which

largely destroyed the town, the church, and its chantries. There was a further great fire in 1585, and, in 1651, the church steeple was blown down, "and the five quires thereof is now become very ruinous and made a heap of stones," and a petition stated it would cost £3,400 to repair.

Parliamentary Representation. Retford had sent Members to Parliament in 1315, but fifteen years afterwards they petitioned Parliament to be relieved on the ground of their poverty. Local men were then usually sent, members were paid, and the cost of travelling, and maintenance in London, was a heavy burden for small towns. From about 1700 to 1826 Retford occasioned Parliament much trouble by election petitions, for the burgesses, being few in number, deemed it to be their duty to sacrifice their principles to their pockets. Many of them were paid twenty guineas for their votes, and some of the burgesses, on purpose to show the breadth of their principles, received money from both sides, and so obtained forty guineas. So reported the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee. A motion was carried to disfranchise the borough. It was ultimately agreed to extend the right of voting for the borough election to all the freeholders of Bassetlaw, who thus voted for both the county and borough representatives. This extension cured the evil. An extended franchise was thus enjoyed by the people of Bassetlaw fifty years before other parts of the County had an extension. Possibly the old burgesses thought they ought to have had compensation for a loss of income, but to us a valuable object lesson was given that evils which may not be cured by prohibition to a favoured few may be removed by extension of benefits to the many.

A Queen. Lady Anne Hyde, grand-daughter of Anne Denman, of West Retford Hall, became the wife of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. The two daughters were the Princesses Mary and Anne, both of whom became our Queens. See the *History of the Olde Hall, West Retford*, by Edwin Wilmshurst.

The Hospice. The almshouses, called the Hospital of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, founded by John Darvel, M.D., in 1664, for sixteen brethren, are the glory of Retford. Of this institution, Dr. Paley, author of the *Evidences of Christianity*, was from 1795 to 1805 the master governor. There is also a Darvel Scholarship at Exeter

College, Oxford, of £70 a year. Each of the brethren—with benefits and residence—obtains a value exceeding £50 per annum.

Sundry Items. Admirers of the "Chamber of Horrors" may like to be told that John Milner, for stealing three cows at Rufford, was in 1797 executed, when the rope gave way, he fell to the ground, and was raised to be hanged a second time, when he exclaimed: "My God! this is hard work!"

Thomas Otter, of Tresswell, having in 1805 murdered his wife at Drinsey Nook, his body was after execution hung in chains on Saxilby Common, near to the scene of the murder. Of course, the district after that event was haunted at midnight!

The Broad Stone in front of the Town Hall is the base of the Dominie Cross upside down, and is said to have been used, in the time when the plague raged dreadfully, for the reception of food and other help to the stricken inhabitants.

Tanning was in olden times one of the chief industries of Retford.

Worksop. Turning to the other side of the Hundred, Worksop Priory and Church have been referred to on p. 113, while the old crusading family of the Furnivals is named on p. 47. Worksop has the honour of being the largest parish in the County, comprising 17,935 acres, and including Worksop Manor and Clumber Park within its area.

There is on record a singular proclamation that King James I. issued in 1617: "Given at our Courte at Worksoppe the eighte day of Aprill" ordering "Noblemen and persons of qualite" to reside in the counties where their principal seates and mansions are, and to "departe with their wives and families oute of our saide Cittie of London and the suburbes thereof, and to retourne to their several habitations in the countrey, and there continewe and abide untill the ende of the sommer vacation." As His Majesty's reasons were to prevent "the decaye of hospitalitie and the disservice of the country," we will hope that the said persons complied, and gave the King "no jusste cause to make them an example of contempte for disobeyinge this oure Royalle commanndemente" *(White)* and we doubt not that their successors will give like compliance.

When the Rev. John Wesley preached in Worksop he was pelted with sheep's garbage, and he speaks of his audience in 1780 as "a small company of as stupid people as ever I saw."—*White.* There has been great improvement in the past four generations.

On May 30th, 1865, there was blown down a noble beech which stood at the west corner of Worksop Manor, and covered one thousand square yards and contained upwards of forty tons of wood.—*White.*

In *The Geology of Sherwood Forest and the District,* the late Mr. C. Tylden Wright, speaking of the neighbourhood of Worksop, says: "We have here the vast mineral wealth of the coal measures covered with higher formations, some of which are inferior to none in agricultural value, and which contain in regular sequence fine sand for the ironfounder and builder; limestone—said by Sir Gilbert Scott to be one of the best building stones in the kingdom; numerous beds of brick earth; a band of ironstone of unusual richness, though of very variable thickness; and lastly, below all in position, but above all in value, several seams of workable coal."

The River Idle runs through the heart of the Hundred; the Chesterfield Canal, the Great Northern and Great Central Railways serve it.

CHAPTER LX.

MANSFIELD.

Although Mansfield is the youngest of the boroughs in our County, it is the most vigorous, and it will continue to be so, for the development of coal-getting will occasion a great increase of population, accompanied doubtless by more dust and smoke, but producing more money, and, let us hope, solid prosperity. It was in the olden time the northern head, as Nottingham was the southern head of the Forest of Sherwood.

Geology. The position of Mansfield in relation to the geological formations is a very happy one. With the magnesian limestone rocks (called the white freestone), the red sandstone, the valuable—almost invaluable—

moulding sand which is sent all over the country, with the marl deposits, and the great coal stores underneath, it has, in addition, a constant stream of water running from the Sutton district through the heart of the town, giving water power for many mills, and supplying the irrigation meadows, the works for which were constructed by the Duke of Portland in 1819. It has also an abundant supply of drinking water from the underground pumpings in the Forest.

Domesday. In Saxon times Mamesfelde appears to have been a royal manor, to which Schegebi (Skegby) and Sutone (Sutton-in-Ashfield) were berewicks, or hamlets, and so the land passed straight to the Conqueror, who had thirty-five villeins and twenty bordars. There were then two churches and two priests.

The Church. A small portion of the tower of the Church of St. Peter is said to be of Saxon work, and as the church stood in *Kirk* Gate, it seems that a church stood there in Danish times. William Rufus, in 1092, gave the church, and what belonged to it before the Conquest, to the Lincoln Minster, to which went the greater tithes. In the next century a Norman tower was built, and it was soon followed by a chancel and nave, superseding the wooden church. Further improvements took place about 1286, when, under King Edward and Queen Eleanor, an indulgence was granted to those who visited the church. The present spire was added in 1669. "To any one," says the Rev. A. H. Prior, the vicar, in the *Mansfield Parish Church, Illustrated*, "who will take his stand at the bottom of Toothill Lane, the growth and expansion of the church through the five great periods of architecture will reveal itself at a glance. There is the Norman tower, the Early English lancet and north door, the Decorated windows, the Perpendicular chapels, and the Classical spire. Apparently there have been few generations but have done something towards the enlargement or beautifying of the church," and we shall all join with the vicar in the desire expressed: "May we each one, in our day, contribute somewhat to the building up of Christ's Church on earth," and the number of places of worship now in the borough, not in outward communion with the Church of England, in addition to the new district churches, shows that many good men and women are contributing somewhat to the building up of Christ's Church on earth.

MANSFIELD OLD MARKET PLACE.

From a picture in the possession of J. Harrop White, Esq.

THOMPSON'S GRAVE, MANSFIELD.

Photo by Mr. G. S. Ellis.

Danegeld. The land in Mansfield, although the Manor belonged to the King, paid Danegeld, or gold, which the hated and justly despised Ethelred II., both before and after the millenium after Christ, raised first to try and persuade the Danes to go, and afterwards to please stay away. It was found so convenient a tax that afterwards it was often resorted to, Danes or no Danes.

Market. The grant of a market every Monday was made by Henry III. in 1227. There is a remarkable legend—which may, or may not, be true—attached to the family to whom the Manor was about then granted—that of Hastings. The legend is "that no child of the line ever saw its father; in other words, the parent ir every instance died before the birth of his heir or heiress."—*Groves.*

Isabella. The Queen-mother of Edward III., whilst residing at Nottingham Castle, claimed to be Lady of the Manor of Mansfield, with various rights attached thereto, the market then being held on Thursdays.

Pillage. In the great pillage under Edward VI., many articles belonging to the church disappeared, and among them, "Item a bell wanting . . . . . the towne bounde to answer for this bell" £40.

Charter. In 1557, King Philip and Queen Mary granted by Letters Patent certain lands to the vicar and churchwardens, and among them a tenement "formerly parcel of the land held in common among the chantry priests" "for the support of one chaplain or priest to celebrate divine service in the parish church." This was followed in 1561 by Queen Elizabeth's charter to the vicar and churchwardens to hold land for school purposes.

The Manor. The Duke of Portland is Lord of the Manor, whose Court Baron is usually held every three weeks, and the Court Leet, or Great Court, twice a year. To these Courts all the copyholders owe suit and service, and pay a small fee.

The Rock Houses. The old rock houses near the top of Ratcliffe Gate have possibly been carved out in recent times, but more probably they date back to a time corresponding with those at the foot of Nottingham Castle and Sneinton Hermitage, when the art of building was

little understood, and there were few materials at hand, and no security for peaceable occupation.

Mansfield Woodhouse. In a Forest book written in 1520, or 1533, wherein are the customaries of the Manors of Arnall, Marnesefeld, Edwynstowe, and Southwell . . . . . there is an entry beginning thus: "Be it had in mynd that the towne of Mannsfeld Woodhouse was burned the Saturdaye nexte afore the Fest of Exaltation of the Holye Crosse, the yere of our Lord M.CCC.IIII. And the Kirk stepull, with the belles of the same, for the stepull was afore of tymber werke; and part of the kyrk wes burned." The Roman Villa at Mansfield Woodhouse is referred to on p. 16.

Plague. In 1641 the Plague began, and the market was for the time being suspended.

Whippings. In 1681 and 1683 particulars are given of women who were "wandering rogues" being publicly whipped, and sent off to the places where they were born.

Quakers. The Society of Friends became very numerous in the Mansfield district owing to the fact that for several years it was the scene of the labours and sufferings of George Fox. All the early business meetings of the Friends for the entire County were held at Mansfield—not Nottingham, and there are records still extant. They established a meeting in 1671 at the house of Timothy Garland.

Ejected Ministers. The Rev. J. Whitlock, Vicar of St. Mary, Nottingham, and the Rev. W. Reynolds, lecturer there, when driven by persecutions under Charles II. from Colwick Hall, went to reside at Shirebrook, and afterwards at Mansfield, which latter place seems to have been quite an asylum for ejected ministers, as many as forty residing there at one time. There was on the reredos of the Old Meeting House (which was established in 1662) "a brass plate in memory of the conscientious sacrifice and Christian labours of these ejected ministers who found in Mansfield 'a little Zoar, a shelter and sanctuary.'"—*H. Walkerdine* and *A. S. Buxton.*

And yet in 1790 some of the inhabitants seem to have been in great alarm lest an Act should be passed repealing the requirement for an official before entering office to take

the Lord's Supper as a test; in other words, regarding the Corporation and Test Acts as the bulwarks of our national safety!

Soldiers. Mansfield suffered, along with other places, during the reigns of the Georges, as well as in the century before, by having soldiers billetted upon the innkeepers. It was an attempt to have an Army cheap. It was a grievous burden upon the publicans, injurious to the men themselves, and led to a good deal of drunkenness and unchastity. There was a petition of the Mansfield innkeepers in 1699, begging the Lord Lieutenant to move a troop of cavalry on to Chesterfield, after a nine months' stay at Mansfield.—*Canon Prior* and *The Welbeck MSS.* A cheap Army is an evil. Let a proper wage and cost be paid in an ordinary business-like way, whatever that cost may be.

Chantries. The chantries left by pious persons in the olden time have in Mansfield been more wisely conserved and administered than in some other towns, the result being that the town is now in a very good position in regard to the income, the objects, and the administration of its educational endowments.—See Chapter on "Schools."

The worthy men of the past we have not space for here; their works do follow them.

The Municipality. In 1823, an Act of Parliament was obtained vesting the good government of the town in commissioners, forty-three in number—an unworkable number, subsequently reduced, and in 1891 a Charter of Incorporation as a Borough was obtained, and what was in Queen Elizabeth's day described as a village has in 1908 become a town of thirty-one thousand five hundred inhabitants, with a rapidly growing increase.—See *The Mansfield Parish Church*, by Canon Prior; and *The History of Mansfield*, by W. H. Groves; and *The Old Churches of the Mansfield Deanery*, by Messrs. Walkerdine and Buxton.

The King and the Miller. "The King and the Miller of Mansfield" is an old ballad that humourously describes the difficulties of King Henry II. (1154-1189) when he became benighted in Mansfield Forest, and went to the house of the miller, the site of which was on the parish boundary between Mansfield and Sutton, where the bend is shown on the ordnance maps. The ballad occupies

forty-one stanzas, or verses. It must be premised that Sherwood was a royal forest, and all the deer belonged to the King, and was strictly preserved, the penalty for poaching being death.

"Henry, our royall king, would ride a hunting
To the greene forest so pleasant and faire;
To see the harts skipping, the dainty does tripping:
Unto merry Sherwood his nobles repaire:
Hawke and hound were unbound, all things prepar'd
For the game, in the same, with good regard."

The King, princes and nobles had been chasing all day, until evening came on, and in the darkness the King became lost, but meeting a rude miller he asked the way to Nottingham. The miller professed to think the King a gentlemen thief, who, however, said all he wanted was a lodging for the night, for which he would pay. They went to the house, where an inspection of the visitor's face was satisfactory, the absence of a passport was waived, the miller's wife promised a bed of fresh straw and good hempen sheets,

"and when that is done
Thou shalt lye with no worse than our own sonne."

But the son wanted to be satisfied that the visitor had "noe creepers," was not lowsy, or scabby, which caused the King

"to laugh most heartilye,
Till the teares trickled fast downe from his eyes."

And so they set to supper, they drank to each other's healṭh, a fair venison pastie was brought out presently, which the King declared "I never before eat so daintye a thing."

"I wis, quoth Richard, no daintye at all it is,
For we doe eate of it everye day.
In what place, sayd our King, may be bought like to this?
We never pay pennye for itt, by my fay:
From merry Sherwood we fetch it home here:
Now and then we make bold with our king's deer.

Then I think, sayd our King, that it is venison.
Eche foole, quoth Richard, full well may know that:
Never are wee without two or three in the roof,
Very well fleshed and excellent fat:
But, prythee, say nothing whereever thou goe;
We would not, for two pence, the King should it knowe.

Doubt not, then sayd the king, my promist secresye;
The King shall never know more on't for mee."

They retired to rest, and the next morning the nobles searching everywhere for the King, espied him, fell on their knees before him, which the miller perceiving, his heart quaked, and trembling he fell before the King, expecting to be hanged, or have his head severed, as the King drew forth his sword: but instead of decapitation, the King made the miller a knight —Sir John Cockle by name or style.

The second part is occupied with

"When as our royall king came home from Nottingham,
And with his nobles at Westminster lay."

He would have the miller, his wife and son go on a visit, which again frightened the miller, who gave the messenger three farthings, and Lady Cockle having turned and trimmed up her old russet gown, off they set "with pillowes and pannels" to Court, where they caused great merriment by their manners and speeches.

"Then Sir John Cockle the King call'd unto him,
And of merry Sherwood made him o'er seer;
And gave him out of hand three hundred pound yearlye:
Take heed now you steale no more of my deer:
And once a quarter let's here have your view;
And now, Sir John Cockle, I bid you adieu."

Thompson's Grave. For Mansfield young folk a walk to the grave of Charles Thompson, which is situate about a mile from the town on the brow of a hill on the Southwell Road, has since his death in 1784 been a convenient and common exercise. The exercise has been good, and the associations and events of Thompson's life have been attractive. He went as a commercial traveller for the sale of cloths on behalf of some Russian merchants to Persia, in both of which countries he went through incidents of interest. After ten years of faithful service he returned, and found himself in possession of £4,000, being the commissions on his sales. He appears to have been a man of blameless life, even when surrounded by evil examples and enticements. He afterwards went into partnership with an English cloth merchant trading with Lisbon, to which place he went, and was there at the time of the great earthquake in 1775, when the city was destroyed.

William Howitt, describing this terrible event, and Thompson's perilous position, says: "He fled. The streets

reeled, the houses fell, church towers dashed down in thunder across his path. There were flying crowds, shrieks, and dust and darkness. But he fled on. The farther the more misery. Crowds filled the fields when he reached them—naked, half naked, terrified, starving, and looking in vain for a refuge. He fled across the hills, and gazed. The whole huge city rocked and staggered below. There were clouds of dust—columns of flame—the thunder of down-crashing buildings—the wild cries of men. He suffered amid ten thousand suffering outcasts. At length the tumult ceased—the earth became stable. With other ruined and curious men he climbed over the heaps of desolation in quest of what was once his home, and the depository of his property. His servant was nowhere to be seen. Thompson felt that he must certainly have been killed. After many days' quest, and many uncertainties, he found the spot where his home had stood; it was a heap of rubbish. His servant and merchandise lay beneath it. He had money enough—or credit enough—to set to work men to clear away some of the fallen materials, and to explore whether any amount of property were recoverable. What is that sound! A subterranean, or subruinan voice? The workmen stop, and are ready to fly with fear. Thompson exhorts them, and they work on. But again that voice! No human creature can be living there! The labourers again turn to fly. They are a poor, ignorant, and superstitious crew; but Thompson's commands, and Thompson's gold, arrests them. They work on, and out walks Thompson's living servant—still in the body, though a body not much more substantial than a ghost. All cry: 'How have you managed to live?' 'I fled to the cellar—I have supped the wine; but now I want bread—meat—everything!' said the living skeleton, staggering on, and looked voraciously for shops and loaves—and saw only brickbats and ruins."

Accounts differ as to how, and whether then or afterwards, he recovered his strong box in which there was £7,000, which having obtained, he wisely determined to return home, and quietly settle down, which he did, and Groves' *History of Mansfield* gives a picture of the house where he lived, and in which nine years afterwards he died. He spent his time in visiting and relieving the poor. In the spring, summer and autumn he rose very early for the purpose of meditation and prayer, and in the afternoon invariably walked to the spot where he chose to be buried. He left singular directions as

to a quiet funeral, a great mound of earth enclosed with a wall, and planted with trees, and by his will there were considerable bequests for the poor to be spent in clothes, and bread, and education in day schools, a part of which went to endow Thompson's School, and part to augment Brunt's. There was a great funeral led by the vicar and choir chanting, and the trees afterwards planted over the grave have grown great. *Old Nottinghamshire* and Groves' *History* give further particulars.

CHAPTER LXI.

CLIFTON AND ITS FAIR MAID.

A walk to Clifton Grove and back is a favourite recreation for the vigorous young folk of Nottingham ; and to those older persons who do not want to do a nine or ten miles "constitutional," a ride by railway to Ruddington, and thence a walk up the Clifton Lane, and turning off at the farm house, over the fields to Glapton—Clifton-cum-Glapton ; then ordering tea at a cottage (for Clifton lives, and enjoys life and thrives without a public-house), and, while the kettle is boiling, going to inspect the highly interesting monuments in the church, returning to enjoy one of the best teas in England (appetite may have something to do with it) with accompaniments ; then taking a stroll through the Grove, and by Wilford footpath, church, and bridge, to the trams, is as nice a way of spending the afternoon as could be wished.

Clifton has a charm of its own. There are some villages where the houses are all alike. The same bricklayer, or joiner, was the architect, and he designed the houses all of one pattern, and having seen one, you do not want to see any more. There are others where every house differs from its neighbours ; those old thatched houses, with their low roofs, small windows, queer gables, and dormers, built with a view to comfort, seldom in a line, but just where "John" thought he would like to have it, and the squire said "Do as you like, John," with the rose bushes, honeysuckle, and jessamine climbing over the doorway, or to the sides of the house, and the garden growing the old-fashioned flowers and vegetables

—these things give a pleasure to rural life undisturbed by modern rush; and the village green and dovecot tell of the olden times, and the churchyard of men and women who lived and departed to the great majority, and the squire lives among his people, a friend and neighbour. Here is the charm of an English village, and Clifton is one of them.

The Hall. In 1066 Clifton belonged to the Countess Gode. William Peverel succeeded her. There was at that time a priest and a church there. For over six hundred years Clifton has been in the uninterrupted possession of the Clifton family. One of the most prominent of the family was Sir Gervase, who lived between 1587—when at four months of age he came to the estates—and 1666. "He was a very eminent person. A member of eight parliaments, distinguished by courtesy, generosity, and erudition." "There happened," says Mr. Hunter, "to him what has never happened to any other person of note in this our nation before or since, for he buried six wives, and married a seventh, who survived him but one year." His share in the Civil War is referred to on page 164. Much interesting information as to the family and place may be seen in *The Clifton Book*, by the Rev. Rosslyn Bruce.

Clifton Grove. The greatest charm of Clifton is its Grove. A mile and a quarter long, with its avenue of big elms, planted about 1690, and those in the declivity in 1740, having a wide grassy walk, with a bold cliff reaching down to the Trent valley, the river flowing at the foot, while the whole valley lies far stretching out with green fields in which are cattle grazing, relieved by river, or canal, or railway, and studded by houses, trees, woods, and hills, it is a charming spot to relieve the tired brain, or for a lover to tell out his soul to an admiring listener.

The Fair Maid. And then you come to the ravine, or chasm, where it is said the fiend dragged down the fair but faithless Margaret. Centuries have passed since that awful transaction, but never since has the grass grown properly on that steep declivity, and the tree that tried to hide the descent was twisted and bent weeping for its ancestor to which Margaret clung for dear life, and the fiend is said to have struck her head so violently against the trunk that a large excrescence or wen grew there, and many saw it.

"Oh! tell us the tale" I hear a dozen young people exclaim. Well, if I must, I must, so here goes—

Once upon a time——"Oh! its a fairy tale, is it?" Certainly not; but the difficulty is that Kirke White, who wrote the poem entitled "The Fair Maid of Clifton," places the occurrence as then only a century back, and Mr. Barker, the author of *Walks round Nottingham, by a Wanderer*, having made diligent enquiries in the village from those who ought to know if anybody does, places the event at the time of the Wars of the Roses, four hundred years ago, and the ballad was repeated to him by "a young female who kept a school in Wells' Hospital, Clifton . . . . . as she repeated them to the village schoolmaster." The old ballad begins—

"Ye gallant dames so finely framed in beauty's choicest mould,
And you that trip it up and down like lambs in Cupid's fold,
Here is a lesson to be learn'd of a peculiar kind,
By such as do prove false in love and bear a faithless mind.

Not far from Nottingham, of late (in Clifton as we hear),
There liv'd a rich and comely maid who never knew compeer;
Her cheeks were like the crimson rose, but as you will perceive,
The fairest face may have false heart, and soonest will deceive."

Of course, one so beautiful had many admirers, for although beauty is only skin deep, yet many persons are dazzled by outward beauty, rather than by the beauty of the soul. Young Bateman was the successful suitor, and the two promised to be true,

"That nothing could but death itself this true-love-knot undo
She broke a piece of gold in twain—one half to him she gave,
'The other, as a pledge,' said she, 'I for myself will have:
If ever I do break my vow while I remain alive
May everything I take in hand be never known to thrive.'"

Bateman had to go to the wars, and returning

"Sure of her constancy, elate he came
The lovely partner of his soul to claim,"

but, alas! old Germain, a widower, had made love to Margaret, who,

"Because he was of greater wealth and better in degree,"

she had engaged to marry.

"When on his ear the fatal news arose,
Chill'd with amazement, senseless with the blow,
He stood a marble monument of woe."

Poor Bateman! He was a man of some religious sentiment, which restrained him, but did not give him the power of self-control; nor had he learned the true secret of religion: "O rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him"; nor did he hear the voice of the Great Burden Bearer saying: "Come unto Me, and I will give you rest"; but on the night of the marriage to old Germain

"He with a strangling cord, God wot, great moans and cries therefore,
Hang'd up himself, with despair fraught, before the old bride's door,"

and you can see the house near the Rectory, now occupied by Mr. Royce Turner, where it was done. But another story is that Bateman rushed with "the fever of his maddened mind" to the Trent, "and in the stream he plunged," and the next morning there was found written on his breast

"False woman, of thy vows and oaths have dread,
For thou are mine by them, alive or dead."

And now came Margaret's turn. With a guilty conscience

"—— such sorrows pierced her heart and trouble seiz'd her mind
That she could never after one day of comfort find."

The ghost of the dead man haunted her, and she thought of the wrong she had done him, and when a baby was born she was sure that evil spirits would carry her off; and so it came to pass. The guards watched until midnight and fell asleep, and she was borne noiselessly away, and carried by the demons across the croft to the dell, where the sad fate referred to at the beginning of the tale befel her.

You may object to the details of the tale, and to the manner of telling it, but under the outward dress of this parable there is an awful reality telling of the hell of a guilty conscience arising from a wrong done for a selfish advantage. So let us conclude with the last verse of the old ballad—

"Ye maidens that desire to love, and would good husbands chuse,
The man with whom you've broken gold, oh! never do refuse;
For God, Who knows such secret oaths, will surely vengeance take
On such as dare their solemn vows and promises to break."

CHAPTER LXII.

THE WISE MEN OF GOTHAM.

The Wise Men of Gotham have been the occasion of pleasure to their fellow-men for centuries past. No educated man believes that the actual events as described in the old English Tales took place, but there are men, even in Gotham, who believe them, and will show you the road where King John was stopped, under the impression that wherever a King went it became a road for ever afterwards; and there undoubtedly is, if not the Cuckoo Bush, the circle in which the Bush grew—and of course it would be true, for "The Cuckoo Bush" is the sign of a Gotham public-house, named after the event; and, further, the reputation of the Wise Men has travelled so far that when Americans want to ridicule the Yankees of New York they call them "Gothamites"!

Gotham—that is, "the home of goats"—is a pleasant village of a thousand people, seven miles from Nottingham. It has a very interesting church, of the Early English period, dedicated to St. Lawrence, and containing monuments to the St. Andrew family, who were lords of the parish from 1210 to 1625, and who took their name from the town in Scotland, whence they migrated, and the Earl Howe, who became proprietor of a large part of the parish, obtained it through marriage into the St. Andrew family. The village has good

Wesleyan and Primitive Chapels, excellent Council Day Schools, a Reading Room, etc. The working men of Gotham —the majority of whom work in the plaster pits, each of which has its well-equipped mill—are above the average in regard to intelligence, thoughtfulness, thrift, and good conduct; nor are they weary of repeating the old saying: "More fools pass through Gotham than live in it." The Vicar is an excellent specimen of a devoted country parson, whose wife and daughter are verily help-meets in benevolent efforts near and far.

Mr. A. Stapleton has written a book, *All about the Merry Tales of Gotham*, which gives a great amount of information, carefully collected and discussed, and having many illustrations. He has also edited *The Wise Men of Gotham: some very old English Tales*, which appears in the series of *Books for the Bairns*, No. 127, price one penny, and having thirty-one illustrations. There are twenty of the Gotham Tales, all telling of simpletons who did foolish things—such as trying to hedge in the cuckoo; rolling cheeses down the hill, and charging them to meet them at Nottingham Market; a man throwing oatmeal into a whirlpool, and seeing it apparently boil, jumping in on purpose to eat it, and was drowned, etc.

There are several disputed theories as to the origin of the Tales, which were written by Andrew Borde, or more probably collected by him in the days of Henry VIII., for the Tales are said to be much older than that date, and some of them are common to other nations.

About a mile to the south of Gotham, and in that parish, is the traditional site of Rushcliffe Hall. The Wapentake of Rushcliffe was one of eight into which the County of Nottingham was divided, and contained about thirty townships. Mr. W. Stevenson, in *Bygone Nottinghamshire*, says: "The meeting place of the Rushcliffe Wapentake was on the hill a mile south of the village of Gotham, and within one quarter of a mile of the widely traditional 'Cuckoo Bush,' where it figures on the Ordnance Map as 'Court Hill.'" The place marked Court Hill is half a mile north-west of the site of Rushcliffe Hall. "The Castle of Gotham," Mr. Stapleton says, "appears prominently in the twelfth century," and Mr. Stevenson says "The place name 'Crow Wood Mot' lingers, and an old trench, possibly an ancient encampment, may be there traced," and *Victoria History* says "At 'Court Hill,' a central spot on

high land, is a well defined tumulus called the Cuckoo Bush, surrounded by a shallow ditch." Now there appears at the Hall site only earthworks, moated round, having had some very large trees recently cut down, because of decay, by the owner of the land, Earl Howe, a descendant of the celebrated Admiral Howe, who died in 1799, he being the ablest naval officer of his day, and to whom King George III. said : "Your life, my lord, has been one continued series of services to your country." In the new *Victoria History*, in the article on "Ancient Earthworks," and the sub-division of "Homestead Moats," these are referred to as "Rushcliffe Moat Water House, to the North of Crow Wood Hill." The spring of water that formerly supplied the Hall has been utilized for a supply to the village, and a small water house has been built over the current, and when occasionally the water fails, the Great Central Railway carries—on its mineral branch line—a supply to Gotham.

Now let us go back in imagination to the olden times, and suppose that representatives of all the parishes in the Wapentake to have assembled at the Court Hill, or at the Rushcliffe Hall, and their business of devising measures for the defence of the Hundred, of settling all disputes as to ownership and boundaries, of fining or otherwise punishing all petty thefts, crimes, offences, and all the sundry business of the Court in the open air—what would be more natural than for them to have a good feed of bread, bacon and cheese, and that over the chestnuts and wine—No, over the flagons of ale ; they should be entertained by short stories, at which they laughed consumedly, like men now laugh over reading *Punch*. What ! You say there is nothing in the Tales to make men laugh ? You appreciate the wit, and refined suggestions and allusions of *Punch*, but you must remember that in the olden time when men could not read, their humour was necessarily rough and unpolished. Even to-day, among farm labourers they laugh heartily at the rough horseplay jokes that very refined people would regard with disdain. You say : "Then they must have been pleased with little." Ah ! that is so ; they were Wise Men, and the wisdom of life is to be pleased with little things.

Old Matthew Holland, one of the oldest residents, will tell all that the old men in Gotham know ; will point to those neglected, thorn-covered hills as having, when he was a lad, before Free Trade came in, been covered with big crops

of corn ; and will challenge you, notwithstanding his seventy-five years, to a walk to London and back. Another worthy, John Sharp, ninety-six years of age, many years a Wesleyan local preacher, can go back still further, but age brings weakness, even in the healthiest of villages.

CHAPTER LXIII.

PERSONALIA.

Several cases of personal interest are here put into one Chapter, one being of a wife loved and lamented, another of a wife disowned and executed, and a third of a perpetual maid lamenting.

Harby. HERE DIED

ELEANOR OF CASTILLE

QUEEN OF ENGLAND

NOVEMBER 27, A.D. 1290.

Such is the simple inscription on the floor in front of the communion rail of the beautiful modern church at Harby, in Nottinghamshire, a parish situate about six miles from the Cathedral City of Lincoln. The mansion in which the Queen died stood where the church now stands, and it was moated round ; the traces of the moat are distinctly visible.

I am indebted to the Rev. R. E. G. Cole, Rector of Doddington, for the following admirable summary of the circumstances connected with the death of Queen Eleanor, and the proof the King gave of his affection to his wife—an example of connubial love to be cherished and imitated :—

"In the autumn of 1290, Edward I. was holding a Parliament summoned for October 27th at Clipstone, where his grandfather, King John, had built a palace, and where a remnant of the Parliament Oak, I believe, still survives. Here Eleanor was seized with her last fatal illness, and Lespardus, the physician, perhaps a countryman of her own, was in attendance on her. On October 18th, syrups and other medicines were purchased at Lincoln at a cost of 13s. 4d. by

one Monte-Pesulano for the Queen's use. Whether she was still at Clipstone, or already removed to Harby, does not appear. At all events the Parliament was held, and the King remained at Clipstone until November 14th. On that day he began to move towards Lincoln, so slowly that it might seem that the sick Queen was in his company. He was several days at Laxton, whence he proceeded to Marnham, where he crossed the Trent, and on November 20th was at Harby. Here was a Manor house belonging to Sir Richard de Weston, probably a relative of John de Weston, one of the Queen's attendants. There are writs dated at Harby every day till November 28th, 1290,* on the evening of which day, a Tuesday, the Queen died. No further writs are found signed till December 2nd, while the King made preparations for her funeral.

The Queen's body was conveyed [across the then open moors of Doddington and Skellingthorpe] to the nearest religious house, the Gilbertine Priory of St. Katherine's at the southern entrance of Lincoln, which having the Hospital of St. Sepulchre incorporated in it, would be suitable both for the religious services and the necessary embalming of her body. Her bowels were buried at the east end of the Cathedral, where the original monument, destroyed in time of the Commonwealth, has been replaced by an exact copy, through the liberality of the late Mr. Ruston. On December 4th, the funeral procession started for Westminster, the resting place of the body each night being marked with a cross, twelve in number. The first of these stood opposite St. Katherine's Priory, at the junction of the Newark and Grantham roads. For the purpose of founding a chantry at Harby the King granted the Manor of Navenby to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and it was agreed between them and the Archbishop of York in 1292, that a chantry should be founded at Harby, the Dean, etc., presenting a priest subject to the Archbishop's approval, paying him a stipend to say masses for the Queen's soul, and providing the requisites for the altar. This was continued down to the Reformation, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535, Thomas Kyllyall was chantry priest, having a house and garden and a clear value of 103s. a year. This fell into the hands of the Crown, and the spiritual wants of Harby had little provision made for them until about 1874, when it

* There is a discrepancy in the date of one day.

was separated from Clifton, and endowment given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for a vicar. A statue of the Queen was placed on the tower of the new church, when that was built, by the late Mr. Freeth.

I might have said that in 1291 Sir Richard de Weston received a grant of the coveted privilege of Free-warren at Harby; and in 1293 he had pardon for some offence, because in his house the Queen died."

Stoke Bardolph. Was Henry Norreys guilty of improper conduct with Queen Anne Boleyn? He was convicted, executed, and his estates forfeited to the Crown. Was he guilty? The question is raised by the late Mr. C. Brown, in *Old Nottinghamshire*, not in the very unwise spirit of the modern newspaper reader, who, having read the report of a trial, at once sits in judgment, and says: "That summing-up of the judge was unfair"; or "That verdict of the jury was not just"; or "The sentence of the judge was too mild," or "too harsh"—but rather in that spirit of charity which reasonably hopes for the innocence of men who in the olden time suffered on charges made sometimes with a purpose, and a foregone conclusion, when the scales of justice were not evenly held.

It must be remembered that in the olden time frequently lands were granted by a reigning monarch to some favourite, who happened afterwards to offend, and a very convenient way was to charge the offender with treason, for which he was condemned, and being executed, the lands were forfeited to the Crown, and bestowed upon another favourite.

The lands in question were the Manor of Stoke Bardolph (called in Domesday Book, Stoches), with Gellinge (Gedling), Crophille (Cropwell Bishop), Neutone (Newton), and Karlton, formerly Carentune (Carlton). Thoroton tells us that at Stoke "was a battell [or bote] which carried men over Trent, which yielded a mark yearly," and belonged to William Bardolph. The Manor had belonged to Viscount Lovell, who was fighting against the King in the battle at East Stoke, and was there killed in June, 1487, and so the land reverted to the King, and one of his sisters having married Edward Norreys, they had a son, Henry Norreys, to whom the King

granted the Manor and lands named. After the forfeiture by the treason of Henry Norreys, they were granted to Lady Ann Stanhope, through whom the Earl of Chesterfield and his descendants enjoyed it until recently.

Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn had in addition to beauty of features, a gaiety of manner, and an easy familiarity that was very taking with men, but which did not result in high esteem, but rather the reverse, there being a lack of reserve and dignity becoming her exalted station ; and particularly was this habit dangerous when she became a married woman, for an acquired habit cannot be changed by a marriage ceremony, and there is nothing will so soon excite the jealousy of a husband as levity on the part of his wife, with advances which may be intended as harmless, but may lead to mischief, and Anne Boleyn ought to have been the more reserved with Norreys because it is understood that he had been one of her admirers before the King became enamoured of her. Norreys held the office at Court of Groom of the Stole, or First Lord of the Bedchamber in the Royal Household, and he, with Weston and Brereton, Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, together with Mark Smeeton, Groom of the Chamber, appeared to have much of the Queen's favour and friendship. When the Queen was delivered of a dead son the King was bitterly disappointed, and his love was thereupon transferred to a new object—Jane Seymour, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour.

An occasion soon presented itself, for on the 1st May, 1536, there was a tilting match at Greenwich, where the Queen happened to drop her handkerchief, which Norreys took up and wiped his face with, and the King, perhaps observing some looks or words which gave him offence, at once retired from the place, had the persons named arrested, and sent orders for the Queen to be confined to her chamber, and the next day she was sent to the Tower, where she "fell on her knees beseeching God so to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accused." She made admissions of certain indiscretions, and Norrey is said, perhaps erroneously, to have confessed his guilt, but to have afterwards withdrawn, and denied. An offer of life is said to have been made him if he would confess his crime, and accuse the Queen, but he strenuously refused, and he and all the others were condemned and executed. Bishop Goodwin says of the Queen : "The 1st of May [it seemeth] she was informed

against ; the 2nd, imprisoned ; the 15th, condemned ; and the 17th. deprived of her brother and friends, who suffered in her cause ; and the 19th, executed. On the 20th, the King married Jane Seymour, who on the 29th was publicly showed as Queen."—Gaspey in *Hume and Smollett.*

Broxtowe. Broxtowe, anciently Brocul—from its possessor's name—and stowe—in Saxon, a place—carries us back to Saxon times, and Brocul may have been the owner in the days of King Alfred, when it is possible the division of our district into Counties took place, and at his place there would be the rally for the whole Hundred, which included Nottingham and Mansfield, and at Brocul each man would touch his weapon, thus forming the Weapen-take in token of their allegiance. Where the meeting would be held we have no intimation of, but at Bingham Weapentake we are told the place of meeting was "a certain pit on the top of a hill" situate beyond the Fosse-way, near the western angle of Bingham lordship, and still called the "Moot House Pit."

Here is a beautiful tradition of Broxtowe, preserved by Mr. Thomas Bailey in his *Handbook to Newstead Abbey*, of a love story arising out of the occupation during the Civil War of Broxtowe by the Republican forces, the commander of the fort being Captain Thornhaugh, a Puritan in religious principles, and who rescued from violation Agnes Willoughby, the daughter of the occupier of Aspley Hall, a Royalist and a Papist. The whole country was then infested by gangs of men, half soldiers, half robbers, and as Agnes was returning from Bilborough she was attacked by three ruffians. who had already hauled her to the ground, when the Captain, who was sauntering in quiet meditation with his Bible in his hand, hearing a woman's cries, rushed to the rescue, took out his pistol and shot one of the assailants, the other two taking to flight. He then took Agnes home, and afterwards, repeatedly calling at the house to enquire as to her welfare, he fell in love with her, which feeling was reciprocated. And then came the desperate struggle of conscience on both sides : he a rebel and a heretic, she a Papist and Royalist—both equally sincere, both personally pious, loving each other, but hating each other's creed and party. Both of them cried earnestly

to God for help and guidance, for both were in an agony of soul as to what to do. One day Captain Thornhaugh received an order from Colonel Hutchinson to proceed with a force from Broxtowe to attack the Royalists at the forts of Shelford and Wiverton, and at the former place he received a bullet in his breast, and fell, never to rise again. Poor Agnes was heartbroken. She put off all her dainty attire, clad herself in the meanest dress consistent with her station, resolved never to marry, but to devote herself to prayer, fasting, and alms-giving. She kept her word, and lived sixty years afterwards in the performance of all good works, and the cultivation of every Christian grace, and at length died in the assured hope of meeting him she had loved so long on earth. Ah! love is mightier than creeds and parties, it bursts all barriers, and will make us all one in Heaven.

I have greatly condensed the story, which may be found in *Rambles round Nottingham*, page 280.

CHAPTER LXIV.

SCROOBY PALACE—THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

Scrooby is a pleasant village on the south bank of the River Ryton, on the Great Northern Railway, one and a half miles south of Bawtry. The church has a lofty spire, which was twice struck by lightning, in 1817 and 1831. There is some good old oak carving on seats in the chancel, either showing the dignity of the Manor pew, or possibly removed from the Palace, but the original font is said to have been carried off to America!

The chief interest in Scrooby arises from the fact that for nearly four hundred years there was here a Palace from which the Archbishops of York, when in residence, issued their decrees for the government of the great diocese of which our County was part, and that from the very same spot went the Pilgrim Fathers.

I had the honour of reading a paper on this subject before the Thoroton Society (which is the Antiquarian Society for Nottinghamshire) at Scrooby, on July 4th, 1905, and

which is printed in the *Transactions* of the Society for that year. It is, therefore, unnecessary to quote here a list of the grants made, and transactions done, by the Archbishops at Scrooby. Suffice it to say that the Liberties of Scrooby, as well as those of Southwell and Laneham, were of great extent, reaching from the Dover Beck on the south, to beyond Scrooby on the north; and from Wellow, the boundary of Sherwood Forest, to the River Trent eastwardly, the Archbishops had this hunting ground with all its rights.

The Palace. When the Palace was erected we cannot say, but in 1086 the Manor belonged to the Archbishop of York. There is a grant concerning the church at Osberton, dated at "Scroby," and given by Archbishop Walter Gray in 1227, with many like transactions in years following, one of which was issued by Archbishop Gray in 1232, and given at Scrooby, for the protection and quiet enjoyment of the brethren of the Hospital of St. John at Nottingham; another, a confirmation of pensions to the Prior and Convent of Lenton, was given at Scrooby in 1240.

The Archbishops had palaces "at York, Bishopthorpe, Shireburn, Cawood, Ripon, Beverley, Otley, Southwell, and Scrooby; and as a matter of course they all had mansions in London."—*Raine.*

Archbishop Savage, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is said to have expended a large amount of money upon the palaces of Cawood and Scrooby, which were his favourite hunting-seats; so that doubtless from ancient times the vicinity of Scrooby afforded to the prelates of York and their attendants scope for indulgence in the diversions of the chase.

Cardinal Wolsey, in 1530, when staying at Scrooby "most commonly," says Cavendish, "every Sunday [if the weather did serve] he would travel unto some parish church thereabout, and there would say his divine service, and either hear or say mass himself, causing some one of his chaplains to preach unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house of that town where should be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well of meat and drink as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity. And thus, with other good deeds practising and exercising having his abode there at Scroby, as making of love days and agreements between

party and party being then at variance, he daily frequented himself there about such business and deeds of honest charity."

Eleven years later King Henry VIII., on his way to the north, gave himself and his attendants the pleasure of a day's stay at this Palace, and was said to have been so charmed by it that he wanted to make it his own.

In 1541, Leland says that at Scrooby he saw "a great manor place, standinge withyn a mote and buildid yn to courtes whereof the first is very ample, and al buildid of tymbre saving the front of the Haule, that is of bricke, to the wych *ascenditur per gradus lapidus*," that is, ascended by stone steps. In this hall there were thirty-nine chambers and apartments. The old hall at Gainsborough will probably help us to understand the kind of building, but probably Scrooby was the finer of the two.

Gradually the old building, being neglected, fell into decay. It then became a royal post-house and inn for important travellers, and Thoroton in 1677 writes: "Here, within memory, stood a very fair palace, a far greater house of receit, and a better seat for provision than Southwell, and had attending to it the North Soke, consisting of very many towns thereabouts; it hath a fair park belonging to it."

No part of the palace now stands, but possibly some of the materials would be used in the farm house and buildings immediately adjoining, and the site of the palace is now the home close of the farm house. There was a bridge and a gatehouse at the entrance, and the area was walled round with brick; both bridge and wall are gone, but the hollows in the field tell where formerly the fishponds were located.

Pilgrim Fathers.

William Brewster, whom we are about to consider, occupied one or other of the two houses, probably the former. Thoroton writing as above says "within memory" the great house stood. William Brewster departed in 1608, and Thoroton issued his book in 1677, nearly seventy years after Brewster's departure. All the rooms of the present house are small, and unsuitable for meetings.

And now we come to what the Rev. J. Raine calls "a marvellous revolution," from the glory of the palace of the great Archbishops with their princely retinues, and osten-

tatious display of wealth, power, and influence, to the use of the premises by a few devout men and women who wished to worship God without any ecclesiastical interference, and who for preaching and praying there were fined, imprisoned, banished their country, and went forth ultimately to take part in founding a new empire. How did this come about?

Let us put together a few chains of events. That "excellent man Master Sands," or Sandys (see page 141), became Archbishop of York. He has the honour of a monument in Southwell Cathedral—a large alabaster altar tomb, with the effigies of the Archbishop reclining upon it, and in the front his widow and nine children kneeling. He in nine years' occupancy of the See gave no less than twenty-six leases or grants for the benefit of his children, and among them one of the Scrooby Manor, being one of six granted to his son, Sir Samuel; and the Archbishop also appointed William Brewster his receiver and bailiff of the manor house, who held, as the family had done for generations, the office of Post, or Postmaster for the district—that is, not of letters, but it was the Post's duty to carry distinguished strangers at fixed charges to the next Post. William Brewster, son of the above, was sent to Cambridge University to be educated, and there he probably studied men more than books, becoming acquainted with men from all parts of the country, which widened his mind.

He entered the service of Mr. Davison, one of the officials of Queen Elizabeth, probably one of the distinguished strangers who were conveyed, in whom the Queen had great confidence, and who was sent as Ambassador to Holland, where Brewster became acquainted with liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Mr. Davison was by the Queen made Secretary of State, which office he held when the Babington conspiracy occurred (see page 148). The people were convinced that Mary Queen of Scots was involved in that conspiracy, and that there would be no peace so long as she lived; they therefore clamoured for her death, to which the Queen with hesitancy assented, and signed the death warrant, and it was Davison's business to get the signature of the Lord Chancellor thereto, and otherwise see it carried out. He did so, and now the Queen was startled at the storm raised, and professed indignation at the undue haste, and a victim must be made, and that victim was Mr. Secretary Davison, who was dismissed, heavily fined, imprisoned, ruined, and ultimately died. William Brewster

stayed with him as long as he could be of any use, and then went back to Scrooby to help his father, and he and young Bradford frequently went to hear the Rev. Richard Clyfton, the Rector of Babworth, and with pleasure travelled seven or eight miles to hear "a grave and revered preacher who by his pains and diligence had done much good, and under God had been the means of the conversion of many"—so says Bradford.

Brewster's father died, and the son succeeded the father. Clyfton somehow either resigned or was removed from Babworth, and Brewster opened the manor house for meetings, to which Clyfton ministered, as also did the Rev. John Robinson, who was a native of Gainsborough, and a Church clergyman. Other ministers took part in these meetings, which were continued in one place or another for about a year. The people attending had to go by one or two at a time, so as not to awaken suspicion, for there were spies and informers ready to entrap them. William Brewster received the visitors as his guests, and Governor Bradford many years afterwards was fond of telling how Brewster "with great love entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great cost."

A Summons. This, however, could not long continue. One of the pestilent common informers, who would by giving information obtain a large part of the penalty imposed, probably went to Southwell and laid information, and an attachment was issued to apprehend Richard Jackson and William Brewster "for Brownism,"* and the sheriff's officer reported that he could not find them, and for a very good reason, for they had gone, and were lodged in Boston Jail, as will be seen later on. They were cited to appear at Southwell before the Rev. Robert Abbot and the Rev. Robert Snowden, Doctors of Divinity, and Matthew Dodworth, Bachelor of Law. Those venerable men had adopted the new form of

* Robert Browne was a Church clergyman, who seems to have taught the necessity of separation from the Established Church, and the formation of Societies or Churches governed by rules made and votes given by the members. He must have been a man of intense energy, for he is said to have been in no fewer than thirty prisons. Probably his labours and sufferings were too great for a highly sensitive system, for he suddenly stopped, submitted to the Bishop of Peterborough, accepted a benefice in a small parish, received the tithes but never preached, continued indolent for forty years, became quarrelsome, and died at eighty years of age in prison for contempt of court.—See *The Pilgrims*, by F. A. Noble, p. 42.

religion and worship, but what they had adopted had been approved by the King and Parliament, and it could not be allowed that plain farmers and others should adopt an unauthorized form. With the citation, of course, they did not comply, and so were fined £20 each by the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical.

How all the families with their baggage went, has not been cleared up. At the back of Bawtry Church is an old disused wharf, where barges were laden or unladen for carrying goods up and down the Idle, the Trent, and the Humber, to or from the sea. That wharf is now silted up, but it may have then been clear, and to it from Scrooby and from Austerfield would be a mile or more to walk. Anyway, the women and children seem to have been sent by water to Gainsborough.

Bradford says: "The poor people were so vexed with apparators, pursuants, and the Commissarie Courts, as truly their affliction was not small, which notwithstanding they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned . . . . . to see further into things by the light of the Word of God." They "were hunted and persecuted on every side so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which were come upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands, and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations and the means of their livelihood. . . . . Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint counsel they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."—*Noble*, p. 88.

A Dilemma. They were, however, in a great difficulty, for the law said they could not leave England without the King's licence; on the other hand, incorrigible Nonconformists must leave the realm. They secretly engaged a ship, which did not turn up according to agreement, and when it did, and they were all with their stuff got on board in the darkness, the miserable scoundrel of a captain betrayed them. They were rifled, stripped of money, books and goods, were imprisoned at Boston for a month, and seven of them bound over to the Assizes. The next spring they tried again, but when part only were on board, a great company of pursuers appeared, and the men were severed from the women,

OLD MANOR HOUSE, SCROOBY.

By permission of Messrs. Welchman Bros., Retford.

ROCK CHURCH, NOTTINGHAM PARK.

By permission of the late Mrs. Leavers.

who suffered terrible hardships, the one by sea, and the others on land, for the women left were hurried from one Justice to another, and the Justices did not know what to do with women and children whose only crime was that they wanted to join their husbands and fathers. God help them! We must leave them—suffice it to say they all got by twos and threes to Holland, where they stayed twelve years in the hope of being able to return, but seeing there was no hope, they decided to sail to America, and went by way of Plymouth, whence, on September 6th, 1620, one hundred and two of them sailed in the "Mayflower," and after being long on the voyage, they on December 20th landed on the big stone in Massachusetts, which they called Plymouth Rock. We cannot, however, follow them, for it takes Mr. Noble nearly five hundred pages to tell the story of what the poet Whittier calls "the noblest ancestry that ever a people looked back to with love and reverence."

We must go back to Scrooby, and there, in front of the house that stands on or by the site of the old palace, we read :—

> THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE PILGRIM SOCIETY OF PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO MARK THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE, WHERE LIVED
>
> WILLIAM BREWSTER,
>
> FROM 1583 TO 1608, AND WHERE HE ORGANIZED THE PILGRIM CHURCH, OF WHICH HE BECAME RULING ELDER, AND WITH WHICH, IN 1608, HE REMOVED TO AMSTERDAM, IN 1609 TO LEYDEN, AND IN 1620 TO PLYMOUTH, WHERE HE DIED APRIL 16, 1644.

Such is the testimony to be seen on a bronze plate on the wall adjacent to the front door of the farm house at Scrooby, now called The Grange.

"Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod!
They have left unstained what there they found,—
Freedom to worship God!"—*Mrs. Hemans.*

William Bradford. The church at Austerfield is an interesting old building of the date of Henry II. (1154-89). The doorway is a compound arch, with zig-zag and beak ornaments, and a rude carving of a dragon upon the doorway plane. It has recently been enlarged by the addition of a side aisle, the cost being largely contributed by Americans, and in the pulling down of the north wall some fine columns, which had been previously enclosed in masonry, were disclosed. Bradford was a man of ability and principle, inspiring confidence into those around him, so that he afterwards became Governor of Plymouth, in New England. The baptismal register of Austerfield shows that he was baptised there March 19th, 1589, his father being a small freeholder. He attended the ministrations of the Rector of Babworth, eight miles south of Austerfield, and before he was eighteen years of age he joined the congregation at Scrooby.

Many Americans now visit Scrooby. In July, 1891, a party of one hundred American pilgrims, together with others, numbering one thousand persons, visited the old palace grounds.

The Lesson. It will be a mistake if we merely expend our indignation upon the persecutors of these men, and it will be another mistake if we imagine the men to have been angelic, or like the old picture-saints—with a halo round their heads. We may approve, or disapprove, of their principles of separation, but they were good men. They had their Judases—base coin. They had their weaknesses—perhaps were narrow-minded, and had bad tempers, just as we have—but they were good men. They had great reverence, and in writing spelled the name of G O D with capitals. They were impressed with the righteousness of God—the Kingdom of God was to them first and foremost. They were men of prayer, and framed their lives by the One Book, from which, as Robinson said, "further light would break forth." They were men of self-denial, of zeal, kindly hearted, hospitable, good to the poor, good citizens, men of principle, who could stand firm midst stress and storm. Unlike some modern religious people who talk, and pass pious resolutions, and have fits of virtuous indignation, but will not work for, or give their time to, the public weal—these men lived for God and their fellow men. Three hundred years ago, to use Bradford's pathetic words, "they could not stay, yet were not suffered to go," but were made to feel the terrible force of King James's

words : "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land" ; yet to-day they are the kind of men that are wanted, and an advertisement in the daily paper, "Men wanted with qualifications equal to the Pilgrims," would meet with—what kind of response ?

"New occasions teach new duties : Time makes ancient good uncouth ;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth ;
Lo, before us gleam her camp fires ! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our 'Mayflower,' and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key."

—*J. R. Lowell.*

CHAPTER LXV.

STAPLEFORD AND BLIDWORTH.

These places are here joined together because they each present remarkable natural geological objects of interest, as will be noted.

Stapleford. Stapleford has the distinguished honour of having the most remarkable natural object in the County, the Hemlock Stone, and also of having the oldest ecclesiastical object, the Cross.

In *The Geology of Stapleford and Sandiacre*, Mr. J. Shipman says :—"I know of no similar area where so much work for the field geologist is crowded into such a small space." He shows how the rocks have been shattered and displaced by faults, and pushed up or let down, "as to remind one of a patchwork quilt or Mosaic pavement." He then refers to the millstone grit on Stony Clouds, to the bunter pebble beds, the waterstones, the coal measures, the glacial drift deposits, the alluvial deposits of the Erewash, etc.

As evidence of the glacial period, he gives a picture of the boulder clay, much contorted, resting on crumpled-up upper keuper shales, at Wilsthorpe brickyard, Sandiacre, in 1883.

He says that "both parishes are just on the southern edge of the great Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire coalfields. North of a line drawn east and west through the north side of these villages stretch the coal measures and lower carboniferous rocks, which have been forced up into a great saddle-back, or anti-clinical ridge, now known as the Pennine Chain. South of this east and west line the new Red Sandstone strata have been faulted down two or three hundred feet." He speaks of a deposit of drift close to Bob's Rock resting "against an old cliff of Bunter Sandstone much fissured and weathered, which formed a sheltered nook in which the sand was deposited when the country was submerged during one of the stages of the glacial period."

Hemlock Stone. When the turbulent waters subsided they left that remarkable object called the Hemlock Stone (possibly formerly Cromlech Stone), said to be 30 feet in height, and in girth about 70 feet. Protected possibly by sand, and being capped by a wonderful cement of its own, called barium sulphate, it defies the action of frost, rain, sun and wind. It may in a distant age have been a gathering point for worship, and it now stands in one of the beauty spots of the County, for "there is no spot round Nottingham more picturesque on a bright summer's day than the Hemlock Stone and its surroundings."

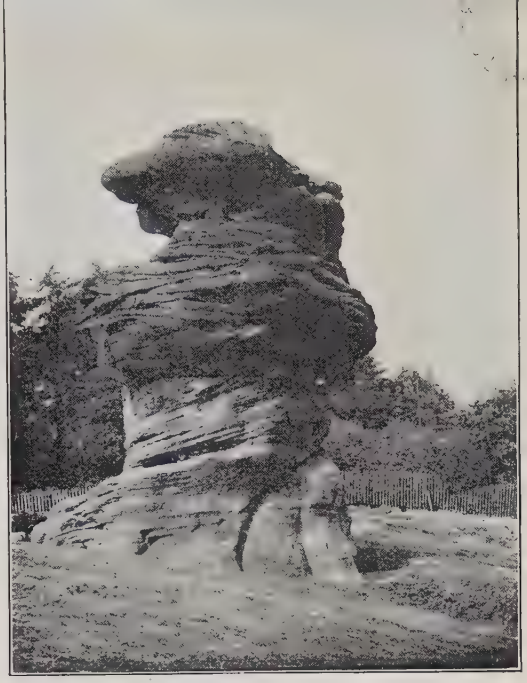
Mr. Elmsley Coke is of opinion that the Stone "has slowly worn into its present shape after the country was raised above the sea for the last time."

Mr. Samuel Page holds that the use of the Hemlock Stone "for Druidical rites may very definitely be traced." See *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 1906, p. 20.

The Cross. Many years ago Dr. G. F. Browne, now Bishop of Bristol, spent considerable time in deciphering the carved tracery of the Cross, which he pronounced to be "a Sculptured Pillar of quite unique beauty of ornament and interest," a work of art. It has on it the symbol of the Evangelist, St. Luke, a great winged figure treading on a serpent, with the head, ears, and horns of a calf . . . . The pillar takes us to a time before there was any church there at all. It records for us the first taking possession by the first Christian missionaries in the name of Christ and His Evangelist, St. Luke."

STAPLEFORD OLD CROSS.

Photo by Mr. S. Poole.



HEMLOCK STONE.

Photo by Messrs. Henson & Co.

Mr. W. Stevenson suggests that Stapleford derives its name from the tall shaft of the Cross—the Anglo Saxon word being stepel, whence our word steeple, or stapol, a prop or post, and the Rev. A. Du Boulay Hill, judging from the style of the ornamentation, and the circumstances of the times, is of opinion that the Cross was probably erected between 680 and 780.

It should be explained that it is only the Shaft (which is about 10 feet high) that is old. The square base on which it stands was reconstructed in 1820, when the square cap surmounted by a ball was added. It is said to have been placed in its present position in 1760, previous to which it was for a time lying in the church yard unappreciated, having before that time stood in a site which became part of the church yard. The church, Mr. G. Fellows regards as of the date of about 1250, so that the Cross appears to have been the rallying point for worship 500 years before the present church was erected. There was, however, a church having a priest in Saxon times, the building being probably a timber-framed one.

Sir John Borlace Warren is one of the worthies of the past of which both the parish and the County may be proud.*

Blidworth. Unlike Stapleford, which has become largely a Colliery District, Blidworth remains partly forest, but chiefly agricultural. Soon, however, the coal-getter will invade the latter district, and the smoke of the pit will interfere with the whistle of the plowman.

Mr. A. T. Metcalfe, in his *Geology of Nottinghamshire*, says, "At Blidworth and Annesley there are masses of what are generally believed to be cemented drift gravel. In the latter place the gravel is in pits, but in the former it stands up in isolated pillars or high blocks of fantastic shape which are commonly called "Druidical Remains," the uncemented portion of the gravel around having apparently been denuded, leaving the cemented portion standing high above the level of the ground, while some of them were afterwards shaped by men into their present forms.

In *The Royal Forests of England* appears a beautiful representation of two of the sixty-three oaks that stand on the estate of Sir Charles Seely, Bart., at Haywood Oaks, one mile from Blidworth village. They stand as sentries round the

* *Notes on the History of Stapleford* was published by me in 1906.

old Manor House where King John is said to have stayed, and are supposed to be 700 years old. The book named is dedicated to the venerable Vicar of Blidworth, the Rev. R. H. Whitworth, who has occupied that office for forty-three years, and has entered most heartily in everything that concerns the forest lore of Sherwood, and the Priory of Newstead, and Blidworth itself, of which he is justly proud. Among his many historical books and papers is one on Blidworth "Rocking," one of the feasts of the Church, held in the first week of February, and instituted to commemorate the incarnation and baby-hood of our Lord.

It is said that part of *Ivanhoe* was written by Sir Walter Scott, at Blidworth, while he was on a visit to the Fountain Dale. In the introduction to that book he refers to the tale of *Friar Tuck*, that he had borrowed from the stores of old romance, and to the tale of *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*, and to *A Gallant Hunting Match in Sherwood Forest*.

The Forest Folk, by Jas. Prior, is a book that any lover of old Sherwood Forest manners and customs may read with points of interest as to Blidworth law, and the district of Calverton, Oxton, Newstead. Mansfield, etc. The same writer, who is a Nottinghamshire man, has written, among other books *The Walking Gentleman*, a tale of a young Notts. Peer who, on the eve of his intended marriage, suddenly disappears, and leads a vagrant life among the common people.

It is worth looking at the tablets in the church to see how a small country village may have been a home of men of note in the service of their country.

For the sake of convenience I here tack on a short notice of another village.

Staunton. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Heart of Midlothian*, introduces the Staunton family, and the parish, under the name of Willingham, and concludes his book thus: "Reader, this tale will not be told in vain, if it shall be found to illustrate the great truth, that guilt, though it may attain temporal splendour, can never confer real happiness; that the evil consequences of our crimes long survive their commission, and, like the ghosts of the murdered, for ever haunt the steps of the malefactor; and that the paths of virtue, though seldom those of worldly greatness, are always those of pleasantness and peace."

CHAPTER LXVI.

A GREASLEY TALE.

Ralph Allen. Ralph Allen was a boy who, with his widowed mother, left Greasley and went to Bath nearly two-hundred years ago, between 1726 and 1728. His father had been a tradesman at Greasley, but dying left the widow without means: so she decided to go to Bath, and support herself and her son by taking in washing. At that time gentlefolk went not to Scarborough, or Brighton, nor to sea-side places, as now, but to Bath, which was then a very gay city. The Vicar of Greasley at that time was the Rev Wm. Warburton (who afterwards became Bishop of Gloucester) and he gave Ralph Allen a note, being a certificate of his character. When Ralph arrived with his mother at Bath he began to look out for something to do, and was told that the Postmaster had put a bill in the window that a smart active boy of fifteen was wanted to carry the mail bag to Marlborough (I presume returning the next day). It was customary in those days for mails to be carried between the principal towns by mounted postmen, with holster pistols and saddle bags, but from the smaller towns by poor boys, who received a half-penny a mile for serving the post office in all weathers, and the road to Marlborough was rough and long, so nobody applied for the situation. On the fourth morning, however, Ralph Allen went into the post office, in clothes that he had evidently outgrown, and said to Mr. Burton, the senior clerk, "Sir, if you please would I be old enough to carry the Marlborough bag? I am only fourteen yet, but I'll always be growing older and wiser I hope," "And might be worse," muttered the clerk, who was out of temper that morning, for it was a sultry day in July. "But step in here, and Mr. Leathem will see what you are fit for." Mr. Leatham was a quiet elderly gentleman, who for several years had kept the post office, and who spoke to the boy more civilly than his clerk had done, and said that he considered him tall enough for the business, and enquired as to his parents and character, and Ralph told him all. "I wasn't brought up here, Sir, but my mother came in hopes of getting fine work from the gentry, and here's a certificate from a kind gentleman, the Vicar of our parish. I used to run errands for him, and he said it

might be useful to me." "This is to certify that Ralph Allen is a sensible, honest, industrious boy, and I hope will continue to be so.—Wm. Warburton." "Well," said the Postmaster, "that's a good certificate, though the writer is unknown to me, but we will let it pass for this time, and take you on trial." He was told he must be careful of the mails, walk fast and arrive in time. He was then equipped with a leathern bag strapped across his shoulder containing all the letters and newspapers for Marlborough. Day by day he performed his task, through sunshine or shower, giving satisfaction, for he never loitered or was late, and soon his regular habits were noticed by travellers in the stage coach, or in wagons, or in the saddle, and people who wanted messages or parcels or other commissions conveying or executing entrusted them to Ralph, thereby increasing his income. With the Universal Spelling Book he learned to read, and he said to Mr. Leatham, "I'm trying to write too, and have got the Master of the Bluecoat School to give me a lesson sometimes for doing his messages, sir." "You'll be a clerk yet, Ralph," said the postmaster, which although spoken in jest became true, for he earned by every honest though small way within his reach; saved his money; bought necessary books, spelling words to his mother in the evenings, and practising his lessons, he advanced to the dictionary and grammar, and a good hand-writing.

Five years passed thus, when he was promoted by Mr. Leatham to a clerkship in the Bath Post Office. After this his mother washed nothing but lace and cambric. Ralph's salary was small, but his prudence was great, and his habits of reading and thought enabled him to modestly suggest certain improvements in the method of transacting the business, so that in three years time he succeeded to the office of the senior clerk, who retired to live on a small property he had. Two years more, and Ralph began to think of purchasing a property also, and there being a very poor farm for sale, called Coombe Down, Ralph purchased it, to the great astonishment of all who knew him, for three tenants had left it in disgust and failure, so that the owner offered it for sheep grazing on the very lowest terms. He gave up his situation in the Post Office, and with workmen commenced to break up the ground in all directions. "Neighbour, do you expect to find a pot of gold on that farm?" said a farmer over the fence. "No." said Ralph, "but I expected, and thank Providence I have

found a good stone quarry, which will repay me, and be useful to yon good town." "My stars," cried the farmer, "he's not mad, after all," and after that scarcely a gentleman's house or a public building in Bath could be commenced without the stone being supplied from the quarry of Mr. Allen, as he was now called.

Mrs. Allen had long given up earning her living by washing, and resided in a neat cottage which her son had built out of the first produce of his quarry, and her former employers saluted her as she passed to St. Mary's Church, dressed like a respectable lady of the period. The Works of the great Dr. Warburton were then attracting much attention, and one day Ralph brought the latest volume home, where he found Mr. Leatham seated with his mother. Pointing to the large book-case, where the works of Dryden, Tillotson, and all the best authors might be seen, "What book do you bring, Ralph?" said the mother, who always thought he was a little extravagant with regard to books. "Don't you know, mother, who is the author of this volume? Don't you remember Mr. Warburton, the parson of our Greasley, in Nottinghamshire, who gave me the certificate that I presented to you, Mr. Leatham, ten years ago, when I wished to be post boy to Marlborough?" This was true. The vicar became bishop, and Mr. Leatham's family kept the certificate as a relic.

The whole farm of Coombe Down, that had ruined many farmers, was found to be one vast bed of building stone, and Ralph made money fast.

Sundry needful arrangements and inventions had long ago made his name and abilities known to the Post Office Authorities, and it being at that time usual for a wealthy or enterprising person in each county to take the whole revenue and expenses of the post office into his own hands, paying to the government a certain sum annually according to the contract, Ralph, who had made himself acquainted with all the details of the business, and who had the good opinion of the most important functionaries, offered to contract for all England, and his offer was accepted. He made such improved arrangements in the transmission of mails, and various postal arrangements, that the revenue was almost doubled, and he conferred lasting benefits on his country, and became one of the richest men in Bath. His mother died in comfort, but at times feared Ralph was buying too many books. He had

many friends who were authors, and among them were Pope, Fielding, Swift and Goldsmith.

Priory Park was a beautiful property near the slopes of Coombe Down. Its owner, by carelessness and extravagance in London, had ruined himself, and it had to be sold, and Ralph Allen, Esquire, became the purchaser, and built himself a splendid mansion, and gathered round him the most polished society of that fashionable neighbourhood, and became the judicious and munificent patron of the literature of those times, and in particular as the attached friend of Alexander Pope, the poet, and the philosophic Bishop Warburton. His career offers a lesson which all may study with profit, to see how much may be achieved by well directed energy and persevering prudence.

Dr. Warburton married Ralph Allen's orphan niece, for whose education provision had been made by her prosperous uncle. "Ralph Allen must stand in our esteem as 'a Worthy' of Greasley, and may others in the future be his imitators, and raise Greasley with them in the further estimation of the world, as they rise." To which we all say, "Amen," as the late rector of Greasley, Baron von Hube, who after forty-five years service retired from the vicarage, thus closes his book of the *History of Greasley*, and all the hamlets and townships therein.

The latter part of the story does not concern our county, but I thought the story, which I have condensed, too good to be omitted. It appears as the biographical account of Allen, given in a number of the *Illustrated Literary Companion*, and shows how Greasley and . . . . (boys, put in the place where you live) can grow men, who being sent out are able to adorn their station anywhere.

CHAPTER LXVII.

PAPPLEWICK.

Some of the interest in Papplewick is of things largely departed. Its name, according to Mrs. Riley, in a paper given in *Old Nottinghamshire*, signifies the dwelling-place of Pappa, a Saxon chieftain, but sometimes "wick" signifies a castle,

or a village. The road to the north, going over Bulwell Forest, passed through the village, and Evelyn, going on it in 1654, says there was "a pretty castle neare it." He says there was "an incomparable vista," which apparently was formed by rows of fine old elms, which gradually decayed. In an open space between the "Griffin Inn" and the smithy stood a tree called "Old Peter." It had a seat under it, where the old folk used to tell and hear the news. But "Old Peter" decayed, and had to be removed. A little beyond the blacksmith's forge stood the stocks. The plantations in the parish bear the names of naval commanders, being formed as sea victories occurred, and thus the achievements of Lord Howe, Earl Vincent, Sir John Borlace Warren, Lord Nelson, and others, were commemorated. The old church, built about the thirteenth century, was demolished in 1795, at a time when church architecture was at its lowest ebb, so that only from the tower, and some glass in the windows of the present building, can any guess be made of what the old church was like. There are some curious stones in the porch walls, apparently the relics of the old church, and there are on the floor some incised slabs showing the burial there of Foresters and Woodwards. An illustration is given in *Bypaths of Nottinghamshire*, page 17. "The church yard," says Mrs. Riley, "contains a splendid yew tree, probably a memorial of the time when it was ordered that a yew tree should be planted in every church yard, to secure a supply of wood for the tough yew bow, which made English archers so famous. The girth of this tree is [in 1884] fourteen feet, and its branches extend in a well defined circle of nearly sixty yards. The stem is hollow, and a young sapling has sprung up in the cavity."

Papplewick used to be famous for its breed of forest sheep, and an annual fair was held in September. This fair I well remember as a boy, but it has long ceased.

Cotton Mills. The principal thing of the past is, however, singularly enough, in connection with the cotton trade. Mr. Lowe, writing in 1794, says that there were six cotton mills in Papplewick and Linby, engaged in preparing cotton for thread for the making of stockings, and for the Manchester trade. One was adjacent to the house called The Grange, now occupied by Mr. W. Clifton; another at Walk Mill; another the Castle Mill, in Linby parish, against the Lake; another called Middle Mill, half way to Bulwell; another Forge Mill. Mrs. Riley says, referring to the Leen:

"For sixty years its stream was utilized as the motive power for several cotton mills, erected by Mr. Robinson, under lease. Seventy acres were occupied as reservoirs, and water-courses, and one of the largest wheels in England revolved in fearful majesty. It was a breast wheel of forty-four feet in diameter. . . . . The mills had been successfully worked, but by degrees Lancashire became the centre of the cotton manufacture, the facilities of steam superseded the cumbrous requirements of water power, and, after the expiration of the leases in 1840, the mills were taken down, the water-courses gradually filled up, and Papplewick returned to its ancient condition of an agricultural village."

According to a correspondence in the papers raised by Mr. Edmondstone and replied to by "G. R.," the famous inventor, Watt, set up in 1785 the first engine built by him for a cotton mill at Papplewick, for Mr. Robinson, the proprietor, who first gave Watt the idea of a horizontal as distinguished from a perpendicular engine. Mr. Robinson is said to have been "a Scotsman, but settled in Nottinghamshire in the year 1737. He died in 1798, and was buried in Bulwell Churchyard, where his monument still exists. The mills I imagine were started about 1756." A steam engine, however, where there was plenty of water power, appears questionable.

White's Directory for 1844 says: "The extensive cotton mills here are not now worked, and framework knitters are prohibited the village, the old mills having left such a number of paupers that the present owner here, as well as Linby, has prohibited all manufacturing." At Linby, the pretty village with two ancient crosses and a maypole, the expulsion of the framework knitters caused a diminution of the population from five hundred and fifteen to two hundred and seventy-one. In other words, the poor were practically driven to live in Hucknall Torkard, and labourers and farm workers had to walk the distance night and morning. The disaster to the cotton trade in Nottinghamshire occurred about the time of the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and probably the cost of carrying the yarn on the backs of animals, or in heavy conveyances, or by water, from Liverpool to Nottingham caused the trade to be unprofitable. The disaster caused the ruin of the manufacturers, both in Papplewick and other parts of the County.

Mr. William Morton, one of the oldest inhabitants, informs me that Mr. Richard Hopper carried on the mills after Mr. Robinson for a few—say seven—years, and that when they ceased he still continued to live at The Grange. What is known as "Walk Mill," where one of the mills stood, is also called by some more properly "Warp Mill." He does not think a steam engine was ever set up in the mills.

A Change. Now look at the revenge that Time brings. There was sixty years of occupation, and then the people were expelled, lest they should burden the land, and lessen its value. Nearly all the parish belonged to one owner, doubtless a very good landlord, and his will was, of course paramount. Hucknall, on the other hand, was an open parish, with a number of freeholders, and there have always been the means of obtaining allotments, or of purchasing land. King Solomon's observing eye caused him to write: "In the multitude of people is the king's glory, but in the want of people is the destruction of the prince." If that be true, compare the two parishes named. Papplewick has a diminishing population; in 1891 it had three hundred and eighty-four, and ten years later three hundred and forty-six. Hucknall had in 1841 "two thousand six hundred and eighty inhabitants, many of whom," says White, "are framework knitters, and occupy small farms." It had in 1891 thirteen thousand and ninety-four, and in 1901 fifteen thousand two hundred and fifty. If land was offered for sale in both places, a yard of land in the town street of the latter would sell for five times as much as in the former, and probably more, and small farm holdings would let at twice the rental. The church of the one parish remains much as when it was rebuilt, but the other has had not less than twenty thousand pounds spent upon it.

For a rural walk, however, commend me to Papplewick, with its plantation shades, its murmuring brooks, its mill dam, its miniature waterfalls, its Robin Hood's Cave, near where the deer stole away, or he stole the deer; its big trees, and its church in the wood, right away from the village;—an ideal spot for a hermit to retire to, and study nature, or for a modern wayfarer to wander to, and "Look through Nature up to Nature's God."

Close by runs the brook from the hill, and within a mile is the Abbey, of which Byron sings:—

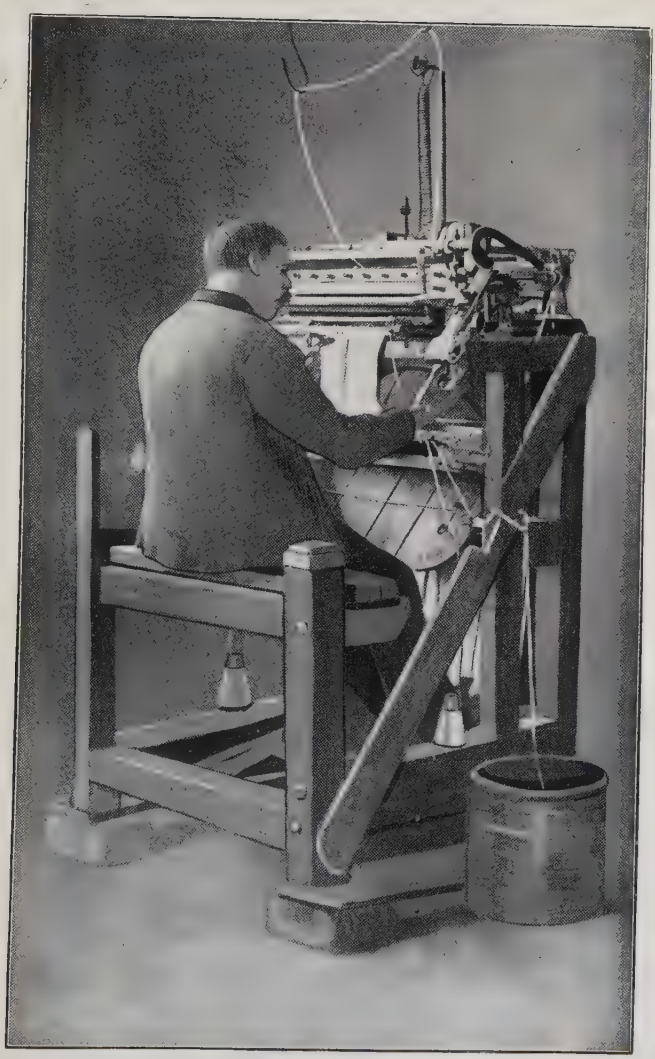
"Seat of my youth! thy distant spire
Recalls each scene of joy;
My bosom glows with former fire,—
In mind again a boy.
Thy grove of elms, thy verdant hill,
Thy every path delights me still,
Each flower a double fragrance flings;
Again, as once, in converse gay,
Each dear associate seems to say:
'Friendship is love without his wings.'"

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE STOCKING FRAME.

To Woodborough and Calverton belong the honour of having produced the man who largely affected our district for good, for not only has the stocking frame been the means of support for many thousands of persons in the City and the villages, but the lace machine, that has been the means of thousands more obtaining thereby a livelihood, is but a modification of, and improvement on, the stocking frame, so that a vast number of persons may thank William Lee for his invention.

Lee. The Rev. William Lee, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, was born at Woodborough, and when curate of Calverton, about 1589, he invented the machine. The tradition is that he was in love with a young woman at Calverton, but that whenever he went to visit her she was much occupied with her knitting, which so greatly annoyed him that he determined to invent a machine that would supersede knitting. Another account is that he, being a poor curate and having a large family, his wife was obliged to knit in order to increase their income, and that both he and the elder children joined in the knitting. There are various other reports and traditions. Let us hope the first account is the true one, because it would furnish an example for young men, showing how a part of their time of courtship may be spent in mechanical inventions for the good of the race! Poor Lee, like many other inventors, obtained little benefit from his invention. He went to London, and he or his brother worked



OLD STOCKING FRAME.

the machine before Queen Elizabeth, whose patronage he sought, but did not obtain, for the Queen was fearful the invention would injure the poor people who obtained their living by knitting, and he returned to Calverton mortified and downcast. Still he persevered in making further improvements. Richard Parkyns, Esq., M.P. for Nottingham, who had obtained the introduction to the Queen, now introduced Lee to the French Ambassador, who communicated the business to his Sovereign, Henry IV. of France, and that monarch invited Lee over to France with the promise of honours and rewards. He, with his family and nine workmen, went and took his machinery to Rouen, in Normandy, where he worked to the great satisfaction of the King, and the trade might have been lost to England; but suddenly the King was murdered; Mr. Lee's creditors thereupon came down upon him, sold the machinery, and stripped him of everything. He went to Paris, where, obtaining no relief, his spirits sank, and he died of a broken heart.

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark, unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

The workmen returned, and after a time a Company of Framework Knitters was established in London. A very long petition is extant that was presented to "His Highness the Lord Protector" Cromwell, setting forth the attempts that had been made to establish the trade in France, Venice, and Amsterdam, and begging for his patronage, but the petitioners failed to effect their object. The trade, however, gradually spread in regard to locality, and increased in regard to bulk, so that the competition became very keen, and wages became very poor. Many improvements were made, and patents taken out by succeeding workers.

Strutt. The first great development, however, of Lee's machine "took place in 1758, when Mr. Jedediah Strutt, of Belper, added another set of needles to the machine, and produced a 'rib' fabric which under the name of the 'Derby rib' became very popular."

Great developments and improvements were made by succeeding members of the Strutt family, and Mr. William Felkin, the author of *Machine wrought Hosiery and Lace*, cannot help observing "how strange are the contrasted events

of human life when one reflects on the melancholy fate of Lee, of Elizabeth's coldness, and his sad exile and lonely death; and then turning to see bright and usefully happy days, the long and tranquil career of Jedediah Strutt, to whom, in only the third generation, there follows in the person of Edward, Mr. Strutt's grandson, the member of the House of Commons,* the Minister, and at length the Peer. It was in 1856 that Queen Victoria, as a mark of the interest she took in the manufacturing industry of the country, having observed that this important element of national wealth had not been suitably represented in the Upper House, expressed through Lord Palmerston her intention of conferring on Edward Strutt, Esq., of Kingston Hall, Nottinghamshire, the honour of the peerage. He paid a graceful compliment to the town of Belper, as the scene of the commercial enterprise and prosperity of his family, by adopting its name for his title."

The adaptation of the rotary motion to the stocking frame was first effected in Nottingham in 1769 by Samuel Wise, a clockmaker, who took out a patent for changing the hand frame into a rotary.

Luddites. We must go back to dark days. In 1811 there was a great depression in the hosiery trade, and many workmen had no means of subsistence. Rent, sometimes excessive, charged for frames when let out to workmen was also burdensome, and helped to increase suffering and discontent. On March 11th, there was a meeting of the framework-knitters from the villages, when many threats of vengeance were made against some of the manufacturers who had reduced the prices for making stockings. The military, however, appeared, and the crowd was broken up. That same night sixty-three frames were broken at Arnold, and during the next few weeks two hundred more machines were broken. The evil increased and extended so much that one thousand stocking frames, and a large number of lace machines, were destroyed in our County, and many others in the neighbouring counties. These "Luddite" outrages continued from 1811 to 1816 at Bulwell, Arnold, Sutton, Mansfield, Hucknall, Basford, Sneinton, Nottingham, and elsewhere, by four separate gangs. Farm houses were plundered. Public houses were closed at

* Mr. Strutt was M.P. for Nottingham in 1852. I have a distinct recollection of his portly figure on the election platform.

ten p.m.; London police magistrates and officers were sent down to assist in discovering the ringleaders, a secret committee was formed, and large funds were provided; a Royal Proclamation was issued, offering £50 reward for the apprehension of the offenders; a reward of £600 was offered for the discovery of men who shot a manufacturer—but all without avail; and an Act of Parliament was in 1812 passed involving the penalty of death for breaking a stocking or lace frame. The Act continued in force two years.

Poor Stockingers. The distress was such that in Nottingham, on January 30th, 1812, four thousand two hundred and forty-eight families, consisting of fifteen thousand three hundred and forty individuals, were relieved out of the poor rates, being nearly one half of the population. In 1817 *The Nottingham Review* reports an appeal from the framework knitters at Hoveringham, which stated that their average earnings were only 9s. per week, and that after deductions had been made for frame rent, etc., only 6s. 6d. was left, and when their house rent, coal, candles, etc., were paid for, only 2s. remained, which for a man, wife, and say two children, left only 6d. per head. Poor fellows! The price of wheat in Nottingham was then from 80s. to 122s. per quarter, and foreign wheat from 106s. to 130s., being three to four times its present price.

As showing how the stocking making had located itself in the villages, *White's Directory* for 1844 gives the number of frames at Calverton as four hundred. At present there are probably a hundred, but only fifty worked. Mr. Coggan has, however, introduced steam worked machinery, which gives the workers great advantages.

Lord Byron, living in the locality, and seeing the evils occasioned, wrote his "Song for the Luddites," commencing—

> "As the Liberty lads o'er the sea
> Bought their freedom, and cheaply, with blood."

In a maiden speech in the House of Lords, he, while forcibly describing the terrible state of affairs, opposed the death penalty.

Improvements. An authority describing the improvements after Mr. Strutt, says: "The next great advance came about a century later, when in 1845 what is known as the 'circular loop wheel' frame was introduced for

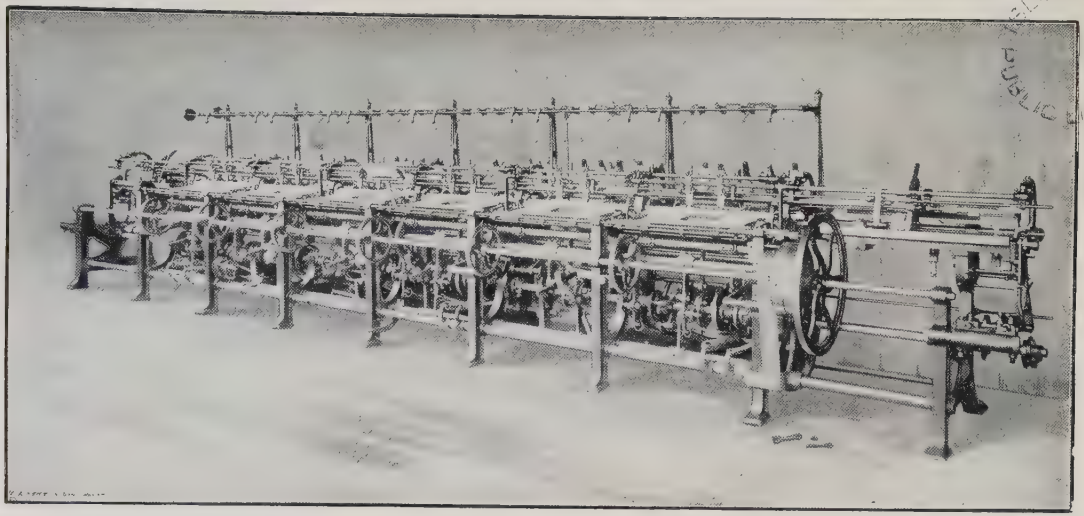
the trade in Nottingham. Since that time improvements have followed very fast, until to-day the different types of hosiery machines are numbered almost by the hundred. An expert woman with needles could knit one hundred loops a minute, whereas there are now machines which can knit half a million or more loops in the same time."

Cotton. Valuable patent machines were invented by Mr. W. Cotton, of Loughborough, about 1866, which produced underwear, stockings, half hose, and children's socks in large quantities. These machines are not only used for the making of plain and ribbed goods, but are adapted to produce all kinds of fancy, striped and check patterns, and fancy lace goods in endless variety of designs. For the making of the latter, the jacquard machine has been adapted.

In circular machines for producing what are called "cut" garments, great improvements have of late years been made by English, Continental, and American builders, while what are known as seamless machines have been built in immense numbers, supplying hose and half hose in vast and constantly increasing quantities.

It has been the introduction of these patent fashioning frames, along with the circular and the seamless machines, which has done more than anything else to sweep away the old-fashioned hand frames, and gather the hosiery operatives into factories, of which so many have been built during the last thirty years in this and the neighbouring counties of Leicester and Derby.

Morleys. Turning from the machine to the article made, I think it desirable to give the following extract from "English Hosiery Manufacture," by Arthur Grey, in *The Business Man's Magazine*, August, 1907 : "This account of the hosiery trade would be very incomplete if some reference was not made to the founders of the great hosiery house of Messrs. I. & R. Morley, Wood Street, E.C., and elsewhere. John and Richard Morley were two brothers, whose ancestors had for some time lived at Sneinton Old Manor House, near Nottingham, and farmed the adjoining land. At that time Sneinton was a pretty old-world village, abounding in quaint thatched cottages, sweet-smelling old-fashioned gardens, and many rocky caves. . . . . It was somewhere about the middle of the eighteenth century when John and Richard were born. When they grew up they continued the business



MODERN HOSIERY MACHINE.

of the farm, and at the same time engaged in the extending hosiery trade. The brothers could see that the latter had great possibilities in it, and they decided to give the trade more attention. As London was usually the centre aimed at, it was arranged that John should go to the City, open a small warehouse there, and Richard should be at the manufacturing end, and keep his brother well supplied with goods. The style of the partnership was 'I. & R. Morley,' which is identical with the name of the firm to-day. The partners were shrewd business men, and of strict integrity. They strove to produce the best goods that could be made, and spared no pains, time or expense in making their goods thoroughly reliable. The fame of their goods soon spread, orders came in, the small warehouse speedily became too small. Milk Street, E.C., was exchanged for Wood Street, where premises after premises were absorbed, until there is now that immense block which dominates Wood Street, and has large branches elsewhere. The business at Nottingham had also increased, branch manufactories had to be established at many other places to cope with the Wood Street demand. From these two brothers has sprung the huge concern known all over the world as 'Morley's.'"

The statue of Mr. Samuel Morley, erected by public subscription in 1888, stands in Parliament Street, Nottingham, and he is there very properly described as "Member of Parliament, Merchant, Philanthropist, Friend of Children, Social Reformer, Christian Citizen." One of his sons, the Right Hon. Arnold Morley, was M.P. for East Nottingham, and became Postmaster-General, and another son is a Governor of the Bank of England.

Mr. William Lee, J.P., a lineal descendant of the Rev. William Lee, has recently (February, 1908) departed from us, he being sixty-seven years of age. He was one of the Magistrates of the City, was born at Mansfield, apprenticed at the Meadow Foundry there, was an able mechanical engineer, whose word was his bond, a man of energy and principle. He was for thirty years the Superintendent of the Queen's Walk Congregational Sunday School. He became President of the Nottingham and Notts. Band of Hope Union. For fifty-seven years he was a zealous teetotaler, and his efforts were always in the direction of social reform.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE LACE MACHINE.

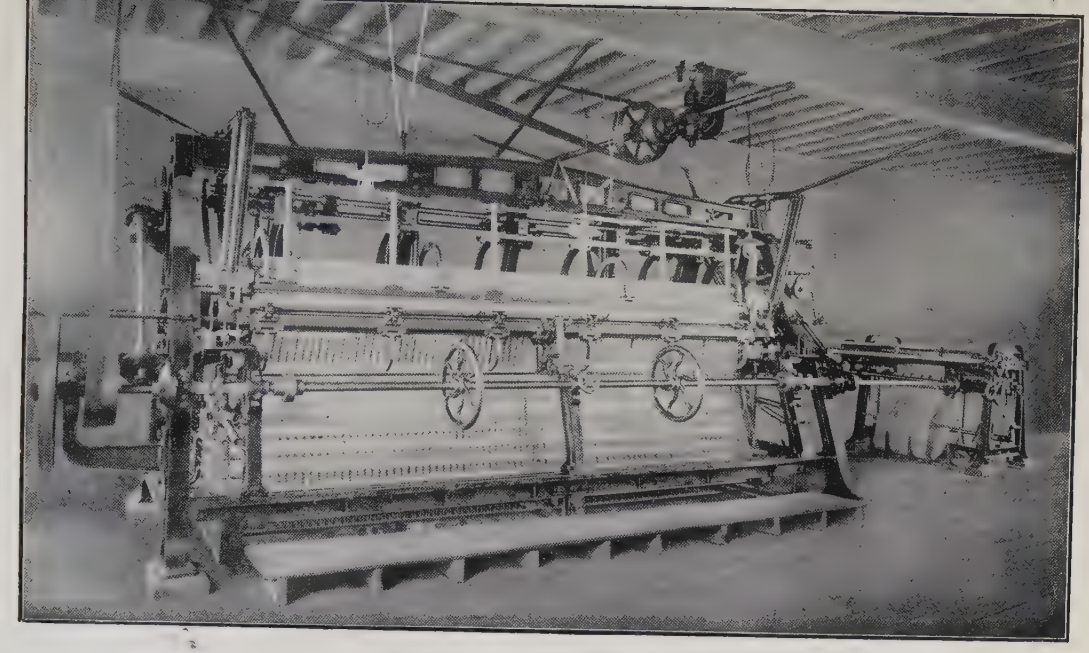
The making of lace has always been a favoured art, occupation, or pastime by the women of civilized nations, and indeed of some who could scarcely claim that designation. The highest skill has been developed in the most artistic forms, with a view to the adornment of the person of the wearer. Many women in remote villages have by pillow and other kinds of lace been enabled to combine both skill, art and profit. Our concern in Nottingham is, however, not with the hand-made but with the machine-made lace, in which art, skill and profit are combined.

Felkin. Mr. Wm. Felkin, J.P., a generation ago published a *History of Machine Wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufactures*. He lived at Derby House, at the Park entrance. He was twice Mayor of Nottingham, and his book is a monument of his industry in collecting facts. It is greatly to be desired that his history should be continued down to date, for there are few branches of industry in which so much brain power has been used as in the perfecting of that triumph of inventive skill, with all its marvellous combinations, the modern lace machine.

Mr. Felkin says: "It was by various modifications of the stocking frame that lace was first made upon machinery. It was from 1760 to 1770 that Crane, Else and Harvey in London; Hammond, John Lindley, Senr., Holmes, and Robert Frost in Nottingham, were engaged in efforts to make lace net upon the stocking frames as well as the fancy hosiery already described."

"The interval between 1770 and 1780 was distinguished for experiments in the leisure hours of workmen at the fancy stocking frames, in forming meshes by hand, which led eventually to many discoveries in the mode of making them mechanically."

Hammond. Hammond was probably the first to make a net from the stocking frame, though that is not quite certain. He cast his eye on the broad lace border of his wife's cap, and a lace caul, and thought he could



MODERN LACE MACHINE.

imitate the fabric. Having borrowed some silk, he went to work upon his frame at his home in the Rookery (St. Michael Street) and produced a net, which with the assistance of his wife was made into caps, having somewhat the appearance of lace, which he sold quickly.

Mr. Felkin describes the various efforts of the application of a kind of warp frame to the stocking machine, of how to get six equal sides to plain net; of so removing some of the stitches as to leave large interstices like the open work in real lace, of the efforts to produce "Flowered Net" and "Spider Net," etc. In 1815 there was great prosperity by the manufacture of point net. One, Flint, a Nottingham journey-man stocking maker conceived the idea how this could be done, but it did not benefit him much, for although he had greatly benefited the town by the important invention of the point net machine, he died in the poor-house of St. Mary.

The warp machine seems to have been invented about 1775. There were five claimants for the honour of the invention, which it is believed really belonged to Crane.

In 1791 Dawson patented a machine which made plait stay-laces and military sashes, and worked a number of his machines in Turncalf Alley (Sussex Street). Like many men of genius he squandered away his money, and at the expiration of his patent he besought Lord Chancellor Eldon to have it renewed. But the privilege was not extended, and the unhappy applicant destroyed himself in consequence.

Herbert. "The warp frame," says Mr. Felkin, "has amply rewarded those who have thoroughly understood and judiciously employed its diversified capacity for production. Amongst these no one was more conspicuous than Mr. Wm. Herbert, who was the son of a frame-work knitter, and himself worked in the stocking frames." He learnt to work a warp machine. The savings he then realized from high wages enabled him to get an interest in a machine on which he made tattings." Mr. Herbert then produced cords and braidings from the warp frames, and gained £50 a week from a single one of 120 breadths. He accumulated a large sum of money. A source of great happiness to him consisted in contributing largely to religious and benevolent objects. A reverse quickly came; cords and braidings were not used;

his immense stock was comparatively valueless, and he again lost all. For the third time he went to work, now in the twist bobbin net branch, and obtained considerable property."

To Mr. Samuel Cartledge, of Nottingham, is due the invention of cotton thread used in the manufacture of British lace.

John Heathcoat. John Heathcoat was born in 1783, and was the son of a small farmer at Duffield, who being smitten with blindness had to give up his farm, removed to near Loughborough, and bought some warp machinery. The son was apprenticed to a maker of Derby-ribbed stockings, who was also a framesmith. While he was working for his bread, he tried to invent. He afterwards said "I had originally no property, and have risen entirely by my own ingenuity and industry." When he had served his apprenticeship he obtained work in Nottingham as a framesmith and setter-up of machines, at a shop between Broad Street and Beck Lane (Heathcoat Street, re-named after him) at 25s. a week, but soon he was found to be worth more, and had three guineas a week. He shortly after purchased his master's business, married and lived in Long Stairs. In 1808 he took out a patent for traversed bobbin-net, formed by crossing and twisting. A second patent machine followed. Meanwhile he had removed to Loughborough, and when the Luddite destruction of machinery took place, and the proprietors of the machinery destroyed there sued the County for the damage and obtained a verdict for £10,000, "the magistrates required that the sum when handed over should be expended locally. To this Mr. Heathcoat gave a decided refusal, and the amount was never received. He said that his life had been threatened, and he would go as far off as possible from such desperate men as these frame-breakers were. He therefore purchased a large mill at Tiverton, in Devonshire, worked by the water power of the River Exe, and so the violence he had suffered from deprived the Midland district of the employment and profit derived from six or seven hundred machines."

As is usual, so far as Mr. Heathcoat was concerned, good came out of the evil, for the bobbin-net inventor in a new sphere set himself to have entirely new machinery with great improvements, and many of the best of the workpeople were transferred.

In 1818 he opened works at Paris in which he embarked from first to last £50,000. These were in 1826 transferred to St. Quentin.

Meanwhile he continued not only his own education, but his investigations into natural science, and from 1824, for twenty years, he kept on making improvements and taking out patents in regard to silk winding, figuring lace, weaving ribbons, steam ploughs, etc.

He erected British Schools for the education of the children of parents belonging to all denominations, particularly with a view to the formation of good habits. The firm about that time were employing 2000 hands, and twenty years after going to Tiverton he was elected as member of parliament, having Lord Palmerston as his colleague, in which house he sat for twenty-eight years, and when he departed this life in 1861, all classes did him honour, for there was a very great funeral procession, and all business in the district was suspended.

With John Heathcoat there was no misspent time or indulgence in youthful follies, the poor and needy he never sent empty away, and says the local journal "His name will continue to be revered wherever philanthropy, patriotism and virtue are held in estimation."

Mr. Felkin adds "His services to Nottingham may be stated in one sentence. His invention gave to it a trade, which within fifty years has mainly assisted to quadruple its population, giving employment year by year at fair wages to probably 150,000 workpeople, and for the past thirty years made an annual addition of £4,000,000 sterling to the trade of the country."

When this record has been read, please go and look at Mr. Heathcoat's portrait in Nottingham Castle Museum. Five minutes gazing at that face will be a sermon. Then go down into the lace room and see the first and second models of the bobbin-net machine made by Heathcoat about 1808-9. Then see a modern lace machine and there will be realized a lesson in difficulties surmounted, and gradual but sure improvements by thought, experience, and determination.

John Leavers Some most important improvements were made in 1813 by John Leavers (usually misspelt by the omission of the a in the name) a frame-smith and setter-up, who removed to Nottingham from Sutton-in-Ashfield, and carried on his operations for the construction of point net and warp lace machinery in a garret in a yard on the northern side of Derby Road. Carriages and bobbins of sufficient thinness for the necessary improvements were made for Leavers by Benjamin Thompson, the father of Bendigo, the well-known prize fighter. During two years Leavers practically isolated himself, and when his machine was complete one of the first workmen was John Farmer, the father of the late well-known Hy. Farmer, the music composer.

"By his invention he was in reality greatly assisting to lay the foundation of the machine lace trade, the annual English transactions in which have at times amounted to £5,000,000, and of which the share arising from the adaptations of Leavers' beautiful machine has not been less than £3,000,000 a year."

Mr. Felkin suggested that Leavers was a free liver, unduly indulged in stimulants, and became very poor. His family at once published an indignant contradiction, and in the Nottingham papers of May 10th, 1867, appeared a letter, signed by his sister, Elizabeth Leavers Greenwood, stating that Leavers had upon the death of his father maintained a large family of brothers and sisters, and although not affluent was never indigent, was sober, and a good husband. He died Sept. 24th, 1848, near Rouen, France, aged 62, was bandmaster of the National Guard Volunteers, and was buried with military honours. His neice, Mrs. Seymour, Douglas Road, who is still with us, confirms the above.

Hall. From this time the improvements and patents taken out by many persons were numerous. In the art of bleaching and finishing lace great improvements were effected by Robert Hall and his son Samuel at Basford. The father was a scientific man, who, if he did not discover, was one of the very first to use chloride of lime in bleaching. His son, Marshall Hall, entered the medical profession, was trained at the Nottingham General Hospital, and removing to London became celebrated for profound physiological researches, which have conferred lasting benefit on mankind. The second son Samuel made such improvements in gassing lace that his

income from this source might then (1817—1822) probably be from £10,000 to £15,000 a year.

Birkin. Richard Birkin was born at Belper in 1805; he was the son of poor parents; his father was a calico weaver. In 1822 he removed to New Basford, which then contained thirty houses or so, where he learned to work a bobbin-net machine, each of which machines were realizing £20 to £30 weekly to not a few of the owners, and wages from £5 to £10 a week to diligent and clever workmen. "He [Mr. Birkin] husbanded both time and money. In 1826 his employer, Mr. Biddle, offered him an advantageous partnership. It was accepted, and the connection continued twenty-one years." He accomplished the making of a pearl edge on Leavers' breadth laces, also a method for producing spots and honeycombs without stoppages. He was the juror for lace at the great Exhibition in 1851, and became thrice Mayor of Nottingham, and his many improvements were continued by his son, now Sir Thos. I. Birkin, Bart.

Fisher and Crofts. The inventions of Mr. James Fisher must be mentioned. and his great success in conjunction with Mr. Wm. Crofts, who took out what was called the "monster patent," for its specification filled 149 pages, with forty-nine sheets of drawings, and claiming nine inventions or improvements.

Cope. Among the multitude of improvers of lace machinery I will mention only one more, and that for a personal testimony. Mr. Wm. Cope, a persistent inventor and an advanced leading maker of lace curtains, called at my house at Arnold more than forty years ago, and saying he had been a poor ragged lad, without shoes or schooling, but God had blessed his efforts, and he should like to promote a day school in Arnold, and he urged me to undertake the carrying out of it, which I eventually did. Mr. Cope promised £300 towards the cost of the building, and died before it was opened, but his partner Alderman Ward represented him at the opening. The people of Nottingham owe to the energies of Alderman Ward the restoration and use of the Castle and grounds, and the inauguration of the Museum with its priceless treasures.

Among the improvements should be noted the application of the jacquard to the lace machine, in varied forms, and later the improved manipulation of threads as made by Mr. Ensor.

Machine Building. In lace machine building Nottingham now supplies the world, few machines being made elsewhere. An acquired skill in the production of the finest machinery, with a delicacy of touch in a highly sensitive material—so sensitive that even hot sunshine falling on some of the parts will occasion faulty work—has been attained, and become hereditary, while the graceful fabric made has tended to civilization, domestic comfort, and the personal adornment of those who help to make our homes and hearts happy.

Thoroughness. In studying the records of the efforts and lives of the men who have built up to the present stage of perfection our hosiery and lace machines and trades, one is impressed by the truthfulness and simplicity of the lessons given recently in a speech by Lord Cromer to the boys of Leys School, Cambridge, which was "Love your Country, tell the truth, and do not dawdle." Here is a great man who has been a blessing to the world, and earned the gratitude of millions of his fellow men, who gives simple rules for useful lives, and the men who have done great things in connection with our local trades—the Lees', Strutts', Morleys', Heathcoats', Leavers', Birkins', Fishers', Copes', Adams', Heymans', Vickers', Mundellas', and a multitude of others who have either invented or manufactured or sold machines and goods whereby their fellow-men have been benefited, peaceful industries extended, and the well-being of the community promoted, have been men who in seeking to benefit themselves did well for their country, lived good, simple, truthful, honest lives, and were distinguished by not only not "dawdling," but, with a few exceptions and lapses, by strenuous lives, good honest hard work, occupying even spare moments, taking a pleasure in their work, and doing it thoroughly and well. Our Country and City have a precious possession in the efforts and work of men who have gone before, and by whose labours and sacrifices we benefit.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE CONVERSION OF THE COUNTY HALL.

When a disciple of General Booth stands at the street corner to state his "experience," he tells how bad he was—"he was *that* bad his neighbours cried shame on him, while his wife and children were neglected and lost; but since he became converted he has turned quite round, and now he takes his money home, his wife and children are properly clothed, their 'things' are no longer in pawn, and he is trying to live as a man should do."

Something like this is the state and work of the County Hall. It has been converted as far as stone can be. Of course, this has been done at considerable cost. Thus, between thirty and forty years ago £36,000 was spent in rebuilding the Hall, and recently £8,000 or more has been spent in building new offices and police station.

"This County Hall was erected in the year MDCCLXX., and in the tenth years of the reign of His Majesty George the III."—So says the inscription on the front of this massive building, which, like a big John Bull, is more weighty than graceful, and was doubtless intended to strike the beholder with the majesty of the law. It was not always so, for in Deering's Historical Account, published in 1751, there is given a woodcut showing "a Prospect of ye County Hall as it appear'd in the year 1750," in which it looks a most disreputable building, of one story only, having three arches open to the street, but enclosed by temporary boards. A large portion of the roof has fallen in, and part of the front wall has fallen down, while to the left appears a room, with a fairly good window in the gable looking toward the street, which one supposes must have been the Court room, but Deering, describing the "King's Hall," says that John Boun, Serjeant at Law, "did some years before the Civil War give an house . . . to be used by the County People for the more convenient Tryals of *Nisi prius*, it was built with arches open to the street as it remains to this day." He says: "The old, as well as the additional arched Hall, is in a very indifferent condition. The Stone Work is here and there patched up with Brick; in short, 'tis hardly fit to bring any of His

Majesty's Judges into, and indeed a certain Judge being very much offended at it, instead of speaking to the Gentlemen of the County in a persuasive manner, laid a Fine upon the County of Two Thousand Pounds." In the Charter of Henry VI., 1448, the Borough was separated from the County, "except our Castle of Nottingham and our messuage called 'the King's Hall' wherein is our gaol for the Counties of Nottingham and Derby being alone excepted." "This," (gaol) says Deering, "is most likely that which King John built. It is now converted into a Brew-house and cellars, for the use of the Gaoler, and a new one is built behind the old Hall, leaving a light airy Yard between." Wylie, in *Old and New Nottingham*, says: "It is supposed that the prison at the rear of the Shire Hall was founded in the reign of Alfred; the hall in 1618. In 1750 the gable end toward the street was used as a hay loft."

Executions. The executions by hanging until a few years ago took place on a scaffold erected on the steps at the entrance of the Hall, and at the execution of William Savill in 1844, for the murder of his wife and three children in Colwick Wood, the bolt being withdrawn, the body fell, and thereupon the immense crowd of many thousands of men, women and children began to move away, and in their hurry, there being no barricades, many were at the top of Garner's Hill thrown down, and the rush being uncontrollable, those who fell were trampled on, and at the foot of the steps lay in a great heap, piled one upon another, crushed and lamed, or suffocated. Scores of persons were taken to the General Hospital in carts and wagons, twelve people were killed, and five died afterwards. Mr. A. J. Raven, now the Magistrates' Clerk, who from the top of an adjoining building witnessed the calamity, says "It was an awful sight."

In those days all executions were public, and thousands of people were accustomed to assemble to witness the degrading spectacle, many of them standing out all night, or paying for a seat at windows where a view could be obtained.

The gallows, or the gibbet, in far off times used to be at West Bridgford, at the boundary of the Borough, at the end of Wilford Lane. It is said that several State prisoners were there hung by King John. Mr. W. Stevenson is of opinion that this site was a gibbet only, although in 1685 Joan Phillips and Edward Bracey were there executed for highway

robbery, it being near the scene of their crime. In 1701, Timothy Breckley was hanged on Gallows Hill for highway robbery, and from that date the executions were there, first where St. Andrew's Church now stands, and afterwards near to where the Church Cemetery Lodge stands—until 1827. Mr. Barker says "seventy-three individuals have expiated their offences on this spot." Afterwards the first execution at the House of Correction, St. John's Street, was on two young men named Reynolds and Marshall for rape, and the first at the County Hall on three men for firing Beeston Silk Mill in 1832.

In the County Prison, two sisters, Mrs. Rowe and Mrs. Bush, suffered twelve years imprisonment on a point of conscience. They belonged to a religious sect which sprung up towards the end of the last century at Calverton. They married in their own way instead of regarding the rites of the Established Church.

John Howard. In *The Life of John Howard, the Philanthropist*, by Dr. Stoughton, referring to a visit he paid in November, 1773, to Nottingham and other places, he says: "He found that dungeons were deep and damp and dark, and that prisoners slept upon wretched mats of the thinnest description. At Nottingham twenty-five steps had to be descended to reach three cells of a less miserable kind, which prisoners had to pay for; twelve more to lower dungeons, cut out of the well known Sandy Rock, contained poor creatures without money or friends. They were stowed away, it might be for years."

It is not clear whether the above refers to the County or the Town Jail, for both were much alike, but Mr. J. Shipman, in *Notes on the Old Town Wall of Nottingham*, is of opinion that the reference of Howard is to the Town Gaol. He gives on pages 29-30 illustrations of the "Dark Cell" and the "Pen Pit," and quotes from the Nottingham Date Book under the year 1750, where it speaks of "felons being chained in vaults under the Town Hall, while debtors were incarcerated in the ordinary cells above."

In the old prisons, owing to a neglect of all sanitary precautions, gaol fever seems to have been very common; thus, at Winchester a surgeon told Howard that twenty prisoners had died of gaol fever in one year. In some gaols there were no yards, no water, no sewer, the doors of the dens

had not been opened for weeks, and the filth and stench were horrible.

For many centuries our County Prison was the felon prison for the Counties of Nottingham and Derby, and so remained until 23 Henry VIII., and the Assizes of the two Counties were held here, except during two intervals, and the same Sheriff acted for both Counties until 1586.

The Lodge. In the lodge of the County Hall was hung up, for use as occasion might require, an iron gag, pressing upon the tongue, so that the sufferer could not speak or swallow. This was destroyed in 1821, when Colonel Wildman was Sheriff. There was also a thumbscrew ; the upper and lower parts being screwed together inflicted any degree of pressure, pain, and torment.

In the County Jail, in 1833, some considerable alterations, and let us hope improvements, were made, and many of the cells have been recently filled up, but some remain, 8 ft. x 5 ft. x 6 ft. high, air and light being conveyed through a 6 in. opening. The 5 ft. width had half of it occupied with a wooden plank, or bench, on which to lie. There is still to be seen a lower pit with two cells. One cell of 10 ft. x 7 ft. x 9 ft. high, had a strongly barred window, 4 ft. x 2 ft., in the centre of which there was provision for opening, about 12 in. square. In this cell there are six rings on each of two sides, and one is extra strong. These all appear to have been made for prisoners to be fastened to. A woman having escaped over the wall into Narrow Marsh, great rings of spikes were placed and may still be seen on the walls where there was any chance of a prisoner escaping. In some places the prisoners recorded their names. On one cell in the brickwork ceiling has been burnt with the smoke of a candle, " Sarah Boot from Arnold 1773." On a window pane is cut " Joseph Mattock July 18 1849 15 years." He was one of three men who in the night, disguised and armed, broke into the old Toll Bar at Daybrook, and while one stood over the keeper and his wife, the others robbed the house of £20 toll money. They were found out, and were transported fifteen years. " Samuel Wilcockson, Newthorpe " is another name recorded. He was often at the Hall, and is said to have been transported more than once.

About sixty years ago, one Sunday afternoon when only one turnkey—" Little Johnny"—was on duty, eight prisoners,

by previous arrangement, took the keys from Johnny, locked him up, locked the Governor in his office, and made for the front gate, where they met the other turnkey, William Lownds, a big man. With a piece of coal in a stocking one of them cracked poor Lownds' skull, and all escaped, but were, with one exception, at different times retaken, one of them being apprehended in Billingsgate Market fifteen years after the event. The one who got away was a notorious burglar, who was charged with breaking into the house of the Rev. Robert Meek, at Sutton Bonnington. He escaped to America.

The Jail is now disused, and the cells occupied with the stationery stores of the County Education Department.

New Methods. The contrast between the old method of dealing with prisoners by severity, and the new method by kindness and efforts at reclamation, is very instructive. A system called the Borstal System, from the name of the prison where the early experiments were made, is now being adopted with regard to young prisoners, where the prospects of reform are fair. The efforts are directed to improving the education of the boys, teaching them a manual labour trade, finding them work, fitting them out to sea or for emigration, religious influences, etc. The results are very encouraging. Out of one hundred and eighty-six cases reported, over one hundred are reported as doing well. Reform is better than punishment, for it is found that many of the lads imprisoned have never known parents or home. Some of them are deformed or diseased, underfed or undersized. They rapidly lose all dread of prison. They detest work, and do not want help; hence the work requires special adaptation, personal attention, and great patience.

In a manuscript written the year before the Civil War, the writer, referring to the Shire Hall, says: "Here likewise by the suffrages of the Freeholders are chosen Knights for the Parliament"; but Mr. Barker, writing of Nottingham Forest, says: "It was on this Forest near the grand stand that the High Sheriff, before the Reform Bill passed, used to hold his County Court for the nomination of Knights of the Shire."—p. 249.

Hall Work. The present work of the County Hall is now very considerable. In some eighty rooms, of which the building with its accompanying offices consists, there are many departments of work. In addition to the

work of the Assizes and Petty Sessions, the Chief Constable for the County has there his head offices, connected by telephone with the principal towns and places, so that everything amiss in the County is speedily known, and every step necessary to prevent crime, and protect persons and property, is at once taken. Few people are aware of how much time is given by the police to preventive efforts, which are, of course, much more valuable than services rendered in order to secure punishment when the evil is done. Prevention is always better than cure, however necessary the latter may be. The testing of weights and measures all over the County is regulated from the County Hall and its sub-districts. There is not a main road or bridge but its repair is there considered, and the work from thence undertaken. Every school house that is built or repaired, every school that is staffed, and its furniture and books supplied—all have to be decided upon at the County Hall. Every midwifery nurse who is registered; every cattle regulation made; every allotment that is by public authority provided; every bye-law for the improvement of public morals, or for the prevention of cruelty to birds; every bill before Parliament affecting the roads and rivers in the County; all steps necessary to secure the training or the health of the teachers and children in every school;—these and fifty other questions affecting law, order, health, education, and good government, have all to undergo examination, consideration, administration, and due care from those rooms in the County Hall. What is done there—is, in the Guildhall and other places done for the City; and of course each borough in the County to some extent makes its own arrangements.

The conversion of the County Hall is now proved, for a great amount of useful and necessary work is being done where once there were only pains and penalties.

It may not be generally known the large amounts that represent the income and expenditure under the control of the County Council, the finances of which are managed in the County Hall. The total sum expended by the Council during the year ended March 31st, 1907, was £268,205. For the year ended March 31st, 1897, the total expenditure was £94,696, so that it will be seen there has been a great increase, chiefly by the transfer from London and local School Boards to the County Hall of the control of the cost of Education in the County. The expenditure for the year

ending March 31st, 1907, was : on Elementary Education, £154,461 ; on Higher Education, £11,200.

The contrast to the above figures may be seen in the fact that sixty years ago the total cost of the County Police was £5,410, and for other County purposes, £9,504 ; Total, £14,914.

Old Town Hall. The old Town Hall, which Deering in 1751 says had a roof then probably seven hundred years old, was in 1895 sold to the highest bidder for the sum of £70, to be cleared away for the Great Central Railway, and the cells under the Town Hall were deep down in the rock, each cell being about six or seven feet each way, with small grated openings for light and air.

SOCIAL.

CHAPTER LXXI.

MARRIAGE AND HOME.

Registration. In the ten years 1891—1901, there were in the County of Nottingham, which includes both City and County, 44,851 marriages, or nearly 4,500 a year, and assuming that the parties had all courted for twelve months before marriage, there were 9,000 people in the charm of that very pleasant and equally necessary occupation of courting, of whom about 3,600 were in the city. We will heartily wish them much happiness—the happiness arising from full confidence in each other, the blending of two hearts and lives in one, and mutual efforts to please, combined with forbearance.

Ancient Ideas. Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had not very elevated ideas of the position of woman. An unmarried woman was looked upon in some senses as a chattel to be disposed of to the highest bidder. Money or cattle must be given in exchange for the bride. The policy of the church when it became established was to teach that

not only was no bargain of the kind named allowable, but that no civil contract between a man and a woman was of any avail without the blessing of the church. An agreement of a man and woman to live together as man and wife was, without the rites of the church, unholy; marriage was a sacrament; the church on behalf of God alone could join the two together. In those days priests were commonly married, but as the monastic party obtained ascendancy the marriage of priests became less frequent, and virginity was extolled as being a higher form of chastity, especially on the part of those who had money or lands, and who would give them to the Church. Celibacy on the part of both of the sexes became a virtue, however much such course might be contrary to the teaching of God in nature, but nature must be subdued for the good of the church.

The Anglo-Saxons had, however, a better idea of social life than the clerics who succeeded them. A Freeman in their system was a man who possessed as much land as being tilled would feed him, and then with the strength and skill to work, and arms to defend, and a wife to cherish him, he became the founder of a family, and an item in the state.

"Then only," says the Hindu Institutes "is a man perfect when he consists of three persons united. his wife, himself, and his son" (*Kemble*), for the unselfish education of man, the dignity of woman, and the training of children in acts of obedience and love, and of parents in protection and advancement in life are all bound up in the marriage tie, which in the aggregate makes for the security of the State.

Ancient Forms. A form is given by Abbot Gasquet in his *Parish Life in Mediæval England*, quoting from a book of instructions for priests, written about 1426, as to marriage in which the following passage occurs:—"The seventh sacrament is wedlock, before the which sacrament the banes in holy church shal be thryes asked on thre solempne dayes—a werk day or two between, at the lest: eche day on this manner: N. of V. has spoken with N. of P. to have hir to his wife, and to ryght lyve in forme of holy chyrche. If any mon knowe any lettyng qwy they may not come togedyr say now or never on payne of cursyng."

On the day appointed for the marriage, at the door of the church the priest shall interrogate the parties as follows:—

"N. Hast thu wille to have this wommon to thi wedded wif. R. Ye syr. My thu wel fynde at thi best to love hur and hold ye to hur and to no other to thi lives end. R. Ye syr. Then take her by yor hande and say after me: I. N. take the N. in forme of holy chyrche to my wedded wyfe, forsakyng alle other, holdyng me hollych to the, in sekenes and in hele, in ryches and in poverte, in well and in wo, tyl deth us departe, and there to I plyght ye my trowthe."

The woman says:—"I. N. take the N. to myn weddid housbonde," etc. Notice the last word—the bond of the house. The correct attitude to take.

Part of this ceremony was conducted at the church door, as were other legal forms. Thus at Arnold, William de Belew who married Alice the daughter of William de Arnal gave her in dower at the church door before marriage, all his land in Lamcote, remainder to the heirs of their bodies; "Ralph de Arnale in 1278 was a Knight," but Thoroton does not give the date of the above marriage.

The Prayer Book. The form for the solemnization of matrimony very properly sets forth the objects of matrimony. Some people object to what they regard as its bluntness and outspokenness as being, when a number of young people are met together in church, likely to lead to levity and suggestion. With such objections I have no sympathy. Matrimony is a solemn undertaking for life, whereby two persons for weal or woe declare that they will forsake all others and cleave together until death parts them. This is in accordance with the highest requirements and sanction of both nature and grace, and requires every word of caution given in the marriage form. The avoidance of marriage because of its obligations and inconveniences,—the entering into the holy estate thoughtlessly, flippantly or for convenience, for financial considerations or other like reasons, or any improper restraint upon the effects of marriage are alike to be condemned.

Family Life. God has wonderfully set us in families of, roughly speaking, five persons, corresponding to the five fingers of the hand, in which the thumb works, grips, and holds for the other four, and in this respect it may be said as in regard to the ordinance of matrimony, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder," for the

home, the family, the sanctity of the marriage tie, the welfare of the people, and especially the happiness of woman, are in many ways bound together, and the man who seeks to substitute for marriage, the family and the home, a community—whether it be for a church, a sect, or a district—is neither the servant of God nor the friend of man.

A Happy Home. Mrs. Hutchinson, in the memoirs of her husband, tells of the marriage of her father and mother at the respective ages of 48 and 16—the latter being a very undesirable age for matrimony,—but the girl made an excellent wife and became the mother of ten children, and we have given us not only the picture of a well trained family and happy home, but a skilful nurse, "cooke and phisitian," and bountiful helper to poor widows and orphans (her own house being filled with distressed families through the war), diligently caring for the education of her children, and attending to her private reading and devotions. Colonel Hutchinson too with his wife seem to have sustained the happiest family relations, and the care and attention they paid to their children is in accordance with the Divine institution, and yielding the best results of life.

Baby is King. What a blessing and treasure these babies are, coming into a home! How they draw out the affections of both father and mother towards them and towards each other! How they lessen selfishness, and develop sympathy and the finer feelings!

A parent never knows how dear they are until it may be the children are in the agonies of a death grip, and the heart bleeds over what the hand cannot save. The development of mutual helpfulness and sympathy are best seen in large families, for the expenses necessitate much of a simple life, which is for the good of all, and characters are built up by self-denial, mutual forbearance, co-operation and objects of sympathy.

Those old lullaby songs continue age after age:—"Humpty dumpty sat on a wall"; "Ding dong bell, pussey's in a well"; "This pig went to market"; "Old King Cole," and many others, some of which must have cheered the little ones in our county right back to the coming of the Saxons. So "Ride a cock-horse to Banbury cross" is very old, and probably older is the practice of making animals talk to children, as "Baa baa black sheep, have you any wool?" while

"Twinkle, twinkle little star, how I wonder what you are," is modern, having been written by Anne Taylor, afterwards Mrs. Gilbert, who lived in Nottingham in the last century.

Mother's Apron-Strings. One of the most powerful influences, the most abiding, and the strongest in the direction of goodness, is that called "mother's apron-strings," or in other words the teaching, the example, and the combined influences of the mother's self-sacrifice and life—never wholly forgotten, never wholly forsaken, and cherished to the dying-day of the child. Although he may be a father or even a grandfather, his mind will revert to that influence for good, and the thought will give him pleasure, and again be an inspiration for the reproduction of the good.

It is the lack of the parental influence being exercised in the full and the right direction that largely tends to make our elementary education system a failure. Educationists were recently startled by the announcement that a Jewish young scholar, who had been taught in a common school in the East end of London, and whose parents were poor immigrants, had been bracketed as Senior Wrangler at Cambridge. Traced to its source it will probably be found that those Jewish mothers excel in their attention to their children—in the feeding of them, in the guarding of them from bad company and idle habits, in the encouraging of them in their school lessons. Sober, intensely industrious, and having a religion they thoroughly believe in, the Jewish lads with all their disadvantages succeed.

Nothing can compensate for the lack of parental discipline and good home influence. The pastor, the day or sunday school teacher, can at most make only a second best. Under the Mosaic law the responsibility of diligently teaching his children all the moral and religious duties was thrown upon the father, and under the New Testament teaching it is the fathers who are to bring up their children tenderly with true Christian training and advice. Even in the common things of life nobody can so well as a father teach a lad the lesson of thoroughness, of doing everything well, as expressed in the familiar rhyme:—

"If I were a cobbler, it should be my pride
The best of all cobblers to be;
If I were a tinker, no tinker beside
Should mend an old kettle like me."

Improvement. One of the signs of the times is the increased interest in children. Measures now before Parliament and the country affecting child-life training, and well-being in regard to health, education and otherwise, would years ago have had no chance of even consideration, much less of adoption. It is now realized that the future good of the nation is bound up with the welfare of the child, and we are learning the sympathy of Him who took the children in His arms and blessed them, and giving heed to His warnings against causing the little ones to stumble.

Clubs. The practice developed in our large towns (Nottingham included) in recent years of preferring a club or hotel life to that of a home is not to be commended. The club develops a self-centred habit of personal convenience and pleasure; the home that of mutual forbearance, self-sacrifice, the promotion of the comfort of the sick or aged, the weak or helpless one. The aim to secure the convenience and pleasure of the one personally does him harm, unless corrected and mixed; the self-sacrifice to make the weakly and unfortunate member of the family happy does more good to the bestower than to the recipient. To the artizan the club is often more dangerous than the public-house. The restraint imposed by publicity, by the police, and by the publicans, are in the case of the clubs absent.

Cash or Credit. There is one respect in which our boasted progress has been backward. The time was when courtship was occupied in the provision of household linen and all other requirements. King Lemuel in the last chapter of Proverbs in "the prophecy that his mother taught him," had a very exalted idea of the thrift, and the handicraft skill of a wife, whether in spindle or distaff, in linen or tapestry, in domestic economy, in early rising, and benevolent gifts. Could he after 3,000 years come back, not to Asia but to Britain, and see a furniture dealer's shop with 5,000 agreements of people who having married have furnished their houses under the hire-purchase plan of paying the cost of the articles by instalments extending over some years, and could he then go into a Nottingham pawnbroker's shop and see piles of five to ten thousand pledges; could he then go across to the County Court and see that in the courts of the City and County there are thirty-thousand cases annually of persons who have had goods or other values which they have not paid for, even King Lemuel would indignantly call to his

mother: "Do they call that progress?" and she in true eastern fashion would rend her garments, and instead of "rejoicing in the time to come," would put on sackcloth and sit in ashes.

Adornment There has been marked progress during the past fifty years in our county in the adornment of houses. The houses of the middle classes as well as the cottages of the poor were then very bare and bald. The pictures were few, the portraits bad, the books ill bound. There were no lace curtains to the windows or flowers on the table. The carpets were small and the furniture bare. Now a workman's wife prides herself on adornment according to her means; portraits of all the family adorn the mantelpiece; a musical instrument of some sort, however small, graces the best room; a choice selection of books occupy the shelf; glass or pottery of various degrees of artistic merit removes the baldness; wild or garden flowers occupy the vase, and a dirty home is regarded as a mark of a gossip or drunkard, or of indolence or vice—and this is right, for is not cleanliness next to godliness?

"And green for ever be the groves,
And bright the flowery sod,
Where first the child's glad spirit loves
Its country and its God."—*Mrs. Hemans.*

CHAPTER LXXII.

OUR SCHOOLS.

"The greatest thing on earth is man; and the greatest thing in man is mind." Such is the motto inscribed in a prominent position in a Scottish University.

An Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of Edward VI. gave to the King all the colleges, free-chapels, chantries, hospitals, etc., which were not by the Act of 37 Henry VIII. in the possession of the King. The professed object was the encouragement of learning, but many abuses and much waste occurred. Still, however, we received part of the benefit in our Grammar Schools. It will be a great mistake to assume that either Henry VIII., Edward VI., or

Elizabeth founded the Grammar Schools generally. Many of them existed long before the dates indicated, and some of them were injured rather than benefited in the days of the monarchs named.

The schoolrooms of the olden time were very unattractive places—poorly lighted, badly ventilated, cold and bleak, with furniture very bald, more like barns or prisons than what schoolrooms ought to be. The children were sent very early, and what they had to learn was uninteresting Very young children were expected to learn Latin, and sometimes Greek. Their hours were long. At some of the Grammar Schools the bell rang at six a.m., and a boy stayed in school till eleven, and in the afternoon from one to five. Holidays were few, and lessons had often to be learned and repeated in them. The birch rod was an essential of a school, and was much used. The children were ruled by fear rather than by love. For the generality of the children of the poor there were no schools. Many of them were sent to work at seven years of age, while people who were better off sent their children to boarding schools with a view to their learning manners, but where they were often harshly treated, and sometimes they ran away from school, and were advertised for. Girls were taught less than boys. It was not considered necessary for them to know much beyond domestic economy, and so in our County the Grammar Schools were for boys only. Girls must be taught the rudiments of reading and writing, needlework, with deportment, dancing, singing, the use of certain musical instruments, painting, and the making of certain sauces and sweetmeats, but the rest they must learn in the kitchen and home. At Newark there was a school well endowed for teaching girls to make jerseys—woollen garments—but the time came when nobody wanted jerseys, and girls would not learn how to make them. Boys were sent to the Universities at fifteen or sixteen.

As an example of how elementary school matters were managed two generations ago, the following is a quotation from *White's Directory of Nottingham*, 1844 : "The National School, in High Cross Street, is a gigantic seminary, calculated for about six hundred boys, but only three hundred and twenty at present are educated on Dr. Bell's system at the cost of a little more than £100 per annum (!) the Master's salary being £80." In this "gigantic seminary" so called, there was poor ventilation and light, dangerous steps to the

upper floor, no playground, and utterly insufficient sanitary conveniences. It is now altered, and is used by the Salvation Army.

Nottingham High School. The earliest reference to Nottingham Grammar School was in 1382. In 1401 the head master, Robert Fole, sued a parent for payment of school fees at the rate of eight pence per quarter.—*Mr. Leach.*

In 1401 there was a grant to Sir Robert Fole, who was described as "Chaplain Master of the Grammar School of Nottingham."—*B.R.*, 13.

That excellent lady Dame Agnes Mellers, in 1513, by deed ordained and founded a free school to the honour of Almighty God and to our Lady St. Mary, directing the School Master to open the school by causing the scholars every morning to say "with an high voice the whole *credo in deum patrem*, etc." ("I believe in God the Father," etc.), and on the 16th of June yearly to be kept and done solemnly, in St. Mary's Church, the *Obit* (prayers for the dead) for her husband and herself, after her decease, for their souls' health, paying 20s., the priest having 3s. for attendance and lights, and priests and clerks 4d., the Mayor being personally present at the beginning and ending of the mass and dirge 6d., aldermen 4d., the Mayor's clerks and serjeants 2d., the parish clerks for the great bells ringing eight peals 3s., and there was to be expended in bread to be sent to the aldermen, etc., according to the custom in the Church, 2s., in cheese 8d., in ale 16d., the residue to "be distributed to the poorest scholars of the said free school to pray for our souls and all our friends." She also strictly enjoined the school master and others not to have any potations, cock-fighting, nor drinking with his or their wife or wives . . . . . but once or twice in the year. She further ordained that if the Mayor and Council were negligent in appointing a school master forty days, the benefit should go to Lenton Priory, etc. Richard Mellers, her husband, was a bell-founder, by which he had acquired a competent fortune, and it is pleasing to see that so far from the family of the good dame begrudging the devoted moneys, her son, Robert, the year following supplemented the gift by the benefaction of a house in Bridlesmith Gate and land in Basford, and another son, Thomas Mellers, further gave lands and tenements in Basford. Both these sons became Mayors

of the Town, the latter thrice, and their father had twice been mayor before them.

The foregoing particulars are given because this is a good illustration of the difficulties attending the administration of all charities. Changes occur and views alter. The will and intent of the good dame are carried out, but her soul is safe in God's keeping without the prayers, and neither the 6d. nor the 4d. nor the ale would induce the Mayor and aldermen to attend, and stay the whole service were one held; nor would the present master with his wife thrice a year provide a cock-fight or "drinkings" for the entertainment of the scholars and their friends.

The school house which served for sixty boys was situate in Stoney Street, and was rebuilt in 1830, in a miserably small manner, to accommodate one hundred boys, but more suitable for fifty, or rather not suitable at all, for it had no playground, and no large room for lectures, etc. The present premises, standing in spacious playgrounds, were opened in 1868, and in the year 1907 there were 373 boys under instruction.

Retford Grammar School. Retford Grammar School, although professedly founded by King Edward VI., was in some form at work long before, for in 1518 Thomas Gunthorpe, Parson of Babworth, and afterwards Prior of Newstead, gave money to build a school, and there were chantries founded "to maintain the service in the Church, to bring up children and other Godly purposes," and the master was described as the "Scolle master for the brynginge upp of youthe in Godley lernynge."—*A. A. Kidson.* By the regulations formed in 1552 the scholars helped in the Quire of the church to maintain Divine Service, and one of them read the Catechism in the church "openly and distinctly" between "the Morning Prayer and the Communion." There was one clause in the Morning Prayer with which the school was opened asking the "Eternal Father so to illuminate our Wits and Understandings that we may have our whole affection upon Wisdom in these years of our Infancy." In the summer period work began at six in the morning till eight, then nine to eleven-thirty, when everyone went to dinner. Afterwards, one o'clock to three-thirty, with an interval of half an hour for *drinking*, closing with a two hours' session from four to six. This was certainly severe, but of course there were no home or evening lessons.

Henry Boawyer, who was appointed head master in 1670, brought an action against the Corporation for appropriating the school property to their own purposes. "He won the suit, and the Corporation were condemned to pay £3,372 4s. 4d., an immense sum in those days. An appeal was lodged, and Henry Boawyer dying soon afterwards, the money was never paid."—*Mr. Kidson.*

The Rev. T. Gough. Some men are born to formulate or influence the lives of the young men of a district, and nowhere has this been better done than in the splendid service the head master of the Retford Grammar School during nearly a quarter of a century has rendered, as shown by the pupils having quadrupled in number, and the buildings and equipment being greatly improved. "A man of exceptional personality and ability" says the report of the Board of Education; and that

> "Fine old English Gentleman—
> One of the olden time,"

the Right Hon. F. J. Savile Foljambe, worthily, and in his usual felicitous style, in making a public presentation, testified to the high appreciation of a life-work devoted to the making of good men.

Retford High School for Girls. The Retford High School for Girls was established in order to secure for the girls of the district an education to be in all respects suited to their requirements, and as thorough as that provided for the boys. It is under the control of the Directors of a local Limited Company.

Newark Grammar School. Mr. A. F. Leach says: "Newark School was first mentioned in 1238, although it was usually considered to have been founded in 1530. Schoolmasters in early times seemed to have been chosen young; it was a very rare thing to find a man over thirty appointed to a school. The method of teaching was not in the direction of 'sparing the rod,' but, on the other hand, parents sometimes complained of the number of 'remedies'—*i.e.*, holidays—allowed." The ordinary pay of a Grammar School master was £10. Newark School was enriched and enlarged by an additional income of £42 in 1530, which was to be devoted to the maintenance of two honest secular priests, the one to teach grammar, the other plainsong, pricksong, and descant.

Newark Grammar School was founded in 1529 by Thomas Magnus, D.D., Archdeacon of the East Riding, "to teach not only good Literature, Grammar, Rhetorique, and other virtuous doctrine, but also good manners." By a munificent gift from Alderman Earp, new premises standing in ten acres are (1908) being erected, which will accommodate one hundred and fifty boys. There will be a chemical laboratory, gymnasium, etc.

Newark Science and Art School. The Newark Science and Art School was founded by voluntary subscriptions as a Jubilee Memorial on a site given by the Duke of Newcastle. It is used in the daytime for a Girls' High School and Pupil Teachers' centre, and a new scheme has been approved by the Board of Education for using funds from Lilley and Stones' Charities for building a Girls' High School. This will adapt the Jersey School and other Charities to the modern needs of girls' education, and will specially teach them domestic economy.

Southwell Grammar School. In Mr. Montmorency's *Thomas a Kempis* some light is thrown on the Southwell Grammar School. He states that "It is more than probable that one of the earliest permanent officials of a cathedral was the *Magister Scolarum*, and that this official eventually became, through the importance of his position, the chancellor of the diocese." Mr. A. F. Leach, dealing with the fact that the chancellorship of Southwell Minster was annexed to one of the first and most ancient prebends—Normanton—tells us that this is "a fact which suggests that here, as at York and Waltham, the *Magister Scolarum* was the earliest dignitary. All collegiate churches and cathedrals were bound to keep schools, and the teaching of the Grammar School was regarded in early days as an even more important part of the duties of the official, who afterwards was known as the chancellor, than his legal and clerkly business. It is indeed only through his scholastic functions that, at Southwell, we learn there was a chancellor at all, though when he appears in written evidence he no longer teaches school himself, but only sees that others do so. This he does, not only in Southwell Grammar School itself, but throughout the County of which Southwell was the mother church."—Quoted from *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, Camden Society, 1891, p. xli.

The school seems to have had a somewhat chequered history. "The foundation was surrendered to the Crown in 1540. The inhabitants of Southwell, recognising the value of a Boarding School in the town, petitioned King Henry VIII. that it might continue. The request was granted. . . . . From the time of Edward VI. the School was managed by the Chapter of the Collegiate Church until that body was dissolved in 1841. In 1902 the school was re-constituted under a scheme of the Board of Education, and the present governing body was appointed."

There appears to have been some interference with continuity in the sixteenth century, for in the book *Southwell Minster*, by G. M. Livett, B.A., it is stated that by the will of Robert Batemanson, proved in 1512, he bequeathed certain lands at Egmanton to found a free Grammar School at Southwell, the master to receive 40s. yearly.—p. 139. "It was endowed by Edward VI. in the amount of £10, payable annually out of the Exchequer."

The Rev. A. Dimock, in his book on *The Cathedral Church of Southwell*, complains that in connection with the dissolution of the Chapter by the several Acts of 1837, 1840, and 1841, "by yet another blow the Grammar School was crippled."—p. 126.

Mansfield Grammar School.

Mansfield Grammar School was founded by Queen Elizabeth, "as a Free School for the bringing up and instruction of youths and boys in the village of Mansfield," the Vicar and Churchwardens being appointed Governors. Their right to hold land was limited to a clear yearly value of £30 over and above reprisals (deductions—expenses). Unfortunately no endowment was provided, the reason for which is supposed to have been that the same persons had in 1556 under Philip and Mary been appointed and incorporated as governors of chantry lands. Litigation followed, and ended in the not unusual termination of law suits—that the funds were to be equally divided between the two charities.

The school is now managed under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, and is divided into a boys' and a girls' school. The former was erected in 1877, at a cost of £10,000, and provides for one hundred and fifty scholars, residing in or around Mansfield, a certain number of whom are admitted free under Brunt's and Thompson's charity

scheme. The girls' school is located on an elevated site on the Woodhouse Road, on land given by Brunt's trustees, on condition that a certain number of scholars were admitted free. It was opened in 1891.

Brunt's Technical Schools. Brunt's Technical Schools were established under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners founded on the Charities of Mr. Brunt and Mr. Thompson. The former has an income of about £3,000 a year, arising from lands very prudently purchased by the trustees under the will of Mr. Brunt, made in 1709, and directed to be expended in the relief of the poor, the putting out of poor boys as apprentices, and the sending of other boys to school, etc. The school provides for one hundred boys and one hundred girls, half of whom go free.

Tuxford. Charles Read, Esquire, who founded the Free Grammar School in 1706, was very solicitous in providing every safeguard that he could devise to ensure having a good master, so he stipulated that the school master should be a graduate of one of the Universities, and Master of Arts, "or at least an Orthodox Minister of God's Word [whatever that may mean] and Lawfully ordained of Good Life and conversation." He becomes almost humourous when he stipulates: "I do ordain that if the Master should be a Drunkard Quarreller or Profanely Curse or Swear, or use any unlawful Games as Cards Dice Tables, Coites Laggets or such like at home or abroad or frequent any suspected Houses or admit any infamous or suspected Persons into his house to lodge or otherwise shall for the first offence be sharply reproved for the second forfeit five shillings and be expelled untill he reconcile himself by acknowledging his offence to ye Trustees and supervisors of the said School and become penitent for it; and for ye third offence to be 'Ipso facto' deprived of his place." He was a believer in the dignity of work, and so, among other good regulations, provided for every one of the boys by turn on Saturday afternoons sweeping and cleaning the school house under a penalty of sixpence in default.

The social conditions in our agricultural villages are altered from the time of good Charles Read, but these old foundation schools ought to be kept up and encouraged by not only the people of the locality, but also by the County Authority and by the Board of Education. We need not

only good elementary schools, but also good ones of a higher grade in even thinly populated districts.

Worksop. St. Cuthbert's College, Worksop, is a Church of England public school, which aims at giving a thorough education at a moderate cost. The foundation stone was laid by the Duke of Newcastle in 1890, and the building was dedicated by the Bishop of Southwell in 1895. It is situate on its own estate of about one hundred acres. The buildings have cost over £32,000, and there are dormitories for one hundred and eighty boarders. The school has its own Magazine. There is a training school for masters in connection with the college.

Lord Mountgarret has made an offer to contribute £10,000 for the building of a new permanent chapel, conditional on half the sum necessary to complete the School buildings being raised.

Nottingham Bluecoat School. The Nottingham Bluecoat School was founded in 1706. There is provision for seventy-five boys and thirty-five girls. Their special dresses are the same in style as at the foundation, except that the boys wore grey coats and breeches until 1725, when the colour was changed to blue.

The rules for the government of the master of the Bluecoat School are some of them curious. Thus, he is to have a good government of himself and passions; to be of a meek temper and humble behaviour; one that writes a good hand, who keeps good order in his family, etc. Some of the rules for the children are also very quaint.

In 1718, Mr. William Thorpe gave a piece of land in Weekday Cross, on which a new school house was built, and in 1853 new premises were erected on Mansfield Road and Bluecoat Street. Mr. J. W. Curtin commenced his duties as master in 1862; his heart and soul were always in his work, and hundreds of boys were benefited by his splendid example and excellent training, for he aimed at developing character. He died July 24th, 1908.

University College, Nottingham. The University College of Nottingham owes its origin to a gift of £10,000 given by an anonymous donor through the late Richard Enfield. The foundation stone was laid on September 26th, 1877, by Alderman Bowers, J.P., then Mayor

of Nottingham. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and the Earl of Carnarvon took part in the ceremony. The College was opened on June 29th, 1881, by the Duke of Albany, K.G. The Technical Department was opened in January, 1893, by the Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company, who had contributed nearly £5,000 towards the cost. On August 27th, 1903, H.M. King Edward VII. granted and signed a Charter of Incorporation. The College is governed by a Court of Governors, who annually appoint a Council to carry on the work, and the President is the Duke of Portland, K.G. There is a Senate, consisting of ten professors and the registrar. The teaching staff numbers nearly seventy. There are about five hundred day and one thousand nine hundred and sixty evening students. A hostel for men has been established at Mapperley Hall; to this there is a Government grant. The curriculum is wide and varied, and prepares for most of the London Degrees. There is a Day Training College for students who have passed the preliminary certificate examination. There are special departments for Engineering, including Civil, Mechanical, Electrical, and Mining; also for Chemistry and Metallurgy. There are a number of Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes, whereby any poor boy who works well is almost certain to obtain some help from the college.

Nottingham High School for Girls. This is a branch of the Girls' Public Day School Trust, Limited, founded 1885. There is a kindergarten attached to the school, and a boarding house for country pupils.

Secondary Schools. The Secondary Schools in Nottingham are the High Pavement (situate on Stanley Road) and the Mundella. The former was originally formed in 1788 by the Society of Protestant Dissenters, assembling at the High Pavement, and was in 1891 transferred to the School Board. Mr. William Hugh was from 1861 to 1905 head master of this school, and rendered valuable service. The school is believed to be the oldest unsectarian or undenominational school in the country. The Mundella School was opened in 1899, and was named to commemorate the long association of the Right Hon. A. J. Mundella with the City, and his efforts on behalf of national education.

There is a Pupil Teachers' Centre at A'court Street. For Pupil Teachers in the County there is the Secondary School,

called Brincliffe, at Nottingham, provision as noted at Newark, and excellently worked centres at Retford and Hucknall.

There are a number of Evening Schools.

There are Proprietary Schools, which are either Primary or Secondary, both in the City and County.

Nottingham Municipal School of Art.

The Government School of Design was established in 1843 in the premises in Beck Lane (Heathcoat Street), now called the People's Hall. It was afterwards held in Plumptre House, a large mansion in Stoney Street, standing in its own grounds, where Broadway now is, Richard Birkin, Esq., the owner, allowing the free use of it When that house was pulled down, the School was removed to a warehouse in Commerce Square. In 1863, 3,630 square yards of land were purchased from the Corporation in Waverley Street, at a nominal price of £100, for the purpose of building the present structure, which cost, with furniture and fittings, about £12,000, raised by subscriptions. In 1888 the Committee requested the Corporation to take it over.

The Nottingham Municipal School of Art has sixteen art teachers and about eight hundred and eighty-two students. The course of study is divided into Elementary, Intermediate, and Advanced Classes, the latter of which include painting and modelling, with special subjects for lace and curtain designers, lithographic artists, wood and stone carvers, house painters, etc.

An earnest desire has recently been expressed to make this School thoroughly representative of and contributory to an enlarged benefit of not only the staple trades, but for the training of students and workmen for all kinds of industrial art.

Midland Agricultural and Dairy College.

The Midland Agricultural and Dairy College, situate at Kingston, in the County of Nottingham, was established by the co-operation of the County Councils of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and the Lindsey Division of Lincolnshire, and is administered by a Governing Body consisting of representatives from these Counties. It consists of fully equipped buildings and appliances for giving theoretical and practical instruction in all branches of agriculture and dairying, while horticulture, apiculture, and

poultry management are also dealt with, as far as they come within the scope of an ordinary farm. Farmers sending their sons and daughters for even the short course will find it helpful to them, but the full course will be better.

Kelham College. The College of the Sacred Mission is a theological college, of which the Bishop of Southwell is Visitor. The course lasts four years. To those able to pay for their maintenance the cost is £40 per annum without tuition, or £60 with tuition. Where necessary, the Society is prepared to pay the entire cost of those chosen, but such are expected to repay what is actually spent, not exceeding £250, after ordination.

Congregational Institute. The Congregational Institute for Theological and Missionary Training, Nottingham, is an institute for young men who intend to devote their lives to the ministry of the Congregational Church. It has about fifty students.

Baptist College. The Baptist College is a similar institution for young men of that denomination.

Elementary Schools. The Elementary Schools in the City are thirty-nine Council Schools and thirty Trust Schools, with special provision for the education of defective children, such as are blind, deaf, or mentally defective.

The Elementary Schools in the County number ninety-nine, and Voluntary Schools one hundred and seventy-five. In addition there are the schools in Newark, Retford, and Mansfield, under the control of the Education Committees of each borough.

Having in 1905 published *Some Aspects of Elementary Education in the Day Schools of Nottinghamshire*, I abstain from any further remarks here, but close this Chapter with some observations by the son of an old friend.

What is the object of education? Mr. J. L. Paton, the High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, son of the Rev. Dr. Paton, of Nottingham, in presenting the prizes won by the students in the Nottingham High School, and himself an old boy of the school, said: "Why did they go to school? It was to acquire knowledge, skill of mind and hand, discipline

and self-control—all that,—but it was something more; the greatest thing of all still remained. The whole reason of our education—of the money and effort that are spent upon it, of the buildings that were put up and the fields that were bought for us—was not only that we should become better scholars, but better men. . . . . We had hold of the idea that the education was not to make a man learned, but to make him good, pure, and truthful. We asked of a man: Is he straight, is he true to his words, straightforward in his actions, clean in his living? Is he a man who answers to the call of duty in his family, in his city, in his country? Is he a man who is unselfish and kindly natured? And we judged a man by that. . . . . And the aim of all education to us was nothing lower than the highest, the measure of the stature of the perfect man."—*Guardian.*

CHAPTER LXXIII.

OUR SUNDAYS.

Our Emperor Constantine, afterwards called the Great, ascended the throne in the year 306, having been proclaimed at York, and some years afterwards nominally accepted the Christian religion. Thereupon he found himself in a difficulty with regard to the observance of a sacred day. By the ancient usage of the Roman Empire great festivals were held in honour of the various gods, and the worshippers of the Sun as the source to us of light, and heat, and life, had special days. The Jews observed Sabbath on Saturday from sunset to sunset. The Christians, many of whom were of the labouring class, while following their usual occupations during the day, had from the time of our Lord kept the Sunday evening for the observance of the Lord's Supper, in honour and remembrance of our Lord's death, resurrection, and the hope of His coming again. Doubtless those who were Jews had observed Saturday also, but the great mass of the Gentile Christians would be compelled to follow their ordinary occupations on Sunday. The observance of so many different (and in the case of the festivals uncertain) days seriously interfered with carrying out the work of both public and private interests and incomes, and therefore Constantine deemed it to be for the

public good that there should be greater uniformity of observance, so as to increase the gain and lessen the loss. He hit upon a happy expedient by, in 321, proclaiming, "Let all judges, inhabitants of the cities, and artificers rest on the venerable day of the Sun. But in the country husbandmen may freely and lawfully apply to the business of agriculture; since it often happens that the sowing of corn, and planting of vines, cannot be so advantageously performed on any other day; lest, by neglecting the opportunity, they should lose the benefits which the divine bounty bestows on us." He did not call it the Lord's Day, because that would have offended the old nobility, but Sunday would offend the Jews only, while Christians would not care by what name it was called so long as they could have the day's rest, with opportunities for public worship, and private acts of mercy and intercourse.

Mr. S. Page supplies me with a note from Stevenson's *Dictionary of Roman Coins*, in reference to the sun. "All the epigraphs and types of the artful, cautious and anything but pious or humane Constantine the Great are drawn from *heathen* mythology, *not* from *Christian* theology. And accordingly we see on his medals and coins the sun represented as the *Guide*, *Protector* and even *Colleague* of this Emperor, with the inscription SOLI INVICTO, &c."

Rest. For a large portion of the sixteen hundred years since the proclamation referred to we have had the advantage of the observance of the day. It has been interrupted by sad wars, revolutions, changes of dynasty and oppression; but Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings have taken steps to ensure the blessings of the weekly rest, to the great advantage of the higher aspirations of the people, the cultivation of all that is best in civilization, the promotion of the health and well-being of man, and, what must not be despised, the bodily advantage of the dumb animals who are our servants.

A change is coming over our country with regard to the observance of Sunday. Is that change going to be for the better or the worse? Changes have occurred before, sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another. In 1367 the Archbishop of York issued an order against the growing practice of holding markets and fairs on Sundays, and the following year the Archbishop of Canterbury prohibited selling and purchasing on Sundays, but such prohibitions did not apply to the necessities of life in regard to food, providing

this did not interfere with the religious duties of the parties and did not prevent their going to church. While, however, agricultural labour, and work for hire, was prohibited, it was allowed where the work was done for charity, and not for gain, so the crops of a widow or sick person might be cultivated or reaped by a kind neighbour. Religious, or mystery plays, or dramatic representations of Scripture events, such as events in the life of our Lord, were performed in the churches and church yards on Sundays, with a view to promote devotion, love to God and man, and honest mirth. Thus the stories of the wonders of creation; the murder of Abel; the deluge; the sacrifice of Isaac; events in the lives of David, Daniel, and others, as well as those attending the nativity and crucifixion of Christ, were rendered in a manner that would not commend itself to us, but in those far off days was doubtless very helpful to persons who had no books, and whose lives were confined to the daily round and common task of work in their villages. So in like manner pictures on the church walls in depicting to the eye the scenes would convey a good idea to the mind.

King James. King James I. in his famous proclamation of 1616, called his "Declaration to his subjects concerning lawful sports to be used," says, "And as for our good people's lawful recreation: Our pleasure likewise is, That after the end of Divine Service, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as Dancing [either men or women], Archery for men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor from having of May Games, Whitsun Ales, and Morris Dances; and the setting up of May Poles, and other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient times, without impediment or neglect of Divine Service. And, that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the Church for the decoring [decorating] of it, according to their old custom. But withal, We do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games, to be used upon Sundays only; as Bear and Bull baitings, Interludes: and at all times, in the meaner sort of people by Law prohibited, Bowling.

"And, likewise, we bar from this benefit and liberty all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to Church to Divine Service: being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said Service that will not first come to the Church, and serve GOD.

"Prohibiting, in like sort, the said recreation to any that though conforme in Religion are not present in the Churches at the Service of GOD, before their going to the said recreation."

With marked coarseness the King rates two sorts of people, "We mean Papists and Puritans," with which the country is "infested," and directs their punishment, and concludes with ordering that his Declaration shall be read in all the Parish Churches. This Order gave great offence to many clergymen and pious people, yet Charles I., in the ninth year of his reign, 1633, issued another Order, in which he said: "We do ratify and publish this Our blessed father's Declaration." He lauds the princely wisdom of his dear father "of blessed memory," and expresses "a like pious care for the service of GOD, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose Truth," and he is the more urgent because he finds that under the pretence of taking away abuses there has been a general Forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes.

The Puritans. The Puritan resented the King's interference. To him the fourth commandment, while given to the Jews, was given not merely to them, but for all time, and for all nations. He did not trouble with the Jewish practice of reckoning the Sabbath from sunset to sunset, whereas we regard the day from midnight to midnight. He had no hesitancy as to the transfer of the observance of a day from Saturday to Sunday. He heard only the voice of God saying "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy," and he deemed it to be his duty to obey. To him duty was pleasure, privilege, profit. The command required rest—that must be absolute, whatever privation it involved; it necessitated worship—that should be rendered to the full, however wearisome. In 1650 an Act was passed directing the seizure of all goods cried or put up to sale on the Lord's Day, or on days of humiliation and thanksgiving, and imposing a fine of ten shilling on all persons travelling, and all inn-keepers entertaining travellers on the Lord's Day, without urgent cause. Many of the citizens of London had been in the habit on Sundays of seeking recreation on the river, and frequenting the villages on its banks. To stop the practice soldiers were posted by the side of the stream, and a waterman who refused to stop rowing was fired at.

On the 12th of October, 1656, Lady Hutchinson, the mother of Colonel Hutchinson, who lived in the house on High Pavement, Nottingham, where the Judges' lodgings now are, had music in her house, and the constables made presentments to the Sessions of various offences by various persons, one "for making a muckhill"; another for drunkenness; several men for "anoying the heyway by Saint Joaneses with Ramell," and "that the Lady Hutchinson had musicke in hir house one the Saboth day." Of course, this may have been a bit of petty annoyance by the constables, but at this period there were various presentations "for nott comeinge to ye church," "for children and servaunts playinge In ye streetts and In the fields on ye Sabbath daies to the great prophanation of God's day." The constables report that on the Lord's Day "they walked in the streets to restraine children and servants from sports and pastime"; that certain children were taken fishing; that to "a meeting att Thomas Hifield many pepell came one horsback out of the countery. We request that travilling one the Sabeth may be prevented," and so on.

It will thus be seen that not only did these views impose a burden that neither "we nor our fathers were able to bear," but there followed the requirement of absolutely strict service, the penalty for non-observance, and no provision whatever for those persons who could not enter heartily into meditation, study, or religious meetings. It was to them a policy of the requirement of indolence, which is sure to be attended with mischief.

Extremes. Between the two extremes of the Continental Sunday of trade and fairs, open shops, elections, races and noisy pleasure on the one hand, and, on the other, a day of gloom, of interminable religious meetings; to children, a day in which, all toys being taken away, they were required to sit still, and do nothing except to learn tasks—even walks in the fields were unfavourably regarded—there has been generally taken a middle course of quietness, favourable to recreation and rest necessary for health of body and calmness of mind. The atmosphere of a quiet Sunday, with visits to friends and social intercourse; a cup of tea, and a walk round the garden, with a discussion on the merits of the flowers; a blessed rest of body and mind, even the animals have been benefited by it, and the country walk has seemed

to indicate that man and beast, bird, plants and flowers, were all resting, and recuperating their energies, while a great amount of quiet and good work has been done by thousands of humble workers in lowly places in works of mercy and charity, so that many a hard worker has involuntarily uttered the exclamation: "Thank God for Sunday!"

A Continental Sunday has been referred to as kept in a certain manner, but it is only fair to say that is only one side by one class of people. At many places may be seen very early in the morning, from five o'clock to nine, great numbers of people in the churches, and again in the forenoon. In Lutheran churches, in like manner, meetings are held at eight in the morning. Afterwards may be seen fathers taking their children through the picture and art galleries, and in the afternoon taking them to the public gardens for high-class music and refreshments.

Saint Paul. The spirit in which St. Paul lived seems to suggest that he read the commandment as "Remember the *seven* days to keep them holy," for he would have us present all our faculties to God as a living and holy sacrifice, with the earnest desire that spirit, soul, and body may be preserved blameless; but the special observance of days found little favour in his eyes, for whether a man regards one day as more highly, or sacred, than another, or regards every day alike, all he urges is that each man should be thoroughly convinced in his own mind, and conscientious differences allowed; and no man must sit in judgment on others as to their eating or drinking, or with regard to a festival, or a new moon, or a Sabbath; all these things are but shadows of things to come, and it is much more important to be keeping hold upon Christ the Head, who governs the body, rather than to be occupied with observances.

Our Duty. How should we regard Sunday? It presents special opportunities for the public worship of God "in the beauty of holiness," "with gold of obedience and incense of lowliness," for

> "Truth in its beauty, and love in its tenderness,
> These are the offerings to lay on His shrine,"

and these can be best done in shewing the Lord's death until He come. Sunday also presents special opportunities for man; for ourselves in regard to rest, recreation of body and mind, self-improvement mentally; fresh air and exercise for the

promotion of health. The day for man, that is, for our fellows: for we can lay aside the earning of our living, and recreate our minds by working for the good of others; the special day for visiting our friends, or those who are ill, or in sorrow, or poor; the day for reclaiming the erring, for guiding the young, for spreading the knowledge of God's love.

There are two points in regard to Sunday observance for our own advantage that I desire to emphasize. One is attendance at church—using the term in the general sense of public worship. I am sure it is helpful, elevating, strengthening, civilizing; that it tends to prevent the danger of men becoming self-absorbed, caring for no one but themselves and their own enjoyment, or engrossed with only material objects, or enticed aside from the path of duty and sober thought by every new-fangled wonder that arises. The multitude of objects around us tend to dazzle our eyes by their brightness and quick succession, and we need to be reminded of old truths, and unseen powers, and future lives—"Lest we forget.' In order to secure success in life in its highest and most enduring forms, the God of our fathers must be our God, His service our pleasure, His will our law.

The other point in which there seems to be a tendency to depart from the Sunday usage prevailing in past years is the personal reading and study of the Bible. The Bible either contains a revelation from God concerning our highest welfare, or we are left without any help or guidance—orphans without a father, voyagers over the sea of life without chart or compass, and with an unknown destination. In that case, God help us! for we are without hope or aim. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But if the Bible be—as millions regard it—a message from God to men, then it concerns me personally—each one of us. It contains a mine of jewels of untold value, and which each man must dig out and appropriate for himself, for neither priest, nor church, nor any other deputy can secure for each of us the personal benefit, any more than they can masticate and assimilate the stomach's food. Each man must do his own thinking, form his own resolutions, use his own powers, fix his own habits, make his own destiny.

The exercise of this power will make us value the more the ministry of that man of God who by the holiness of his life is nearer to God than we are, who by his study of Bible

truth, and the great problems of life, and pain, and humanity knows more of God and man than we do, and who by a heart and hand of loving sympathy can draw us up into the sunshine of truth and love and the highest life.

For children Sunday should be a specially happy day. Having in the centenary celebration year of the founding of Sunday Schools—1880—been President of the Nottingham Sunday School Union, it is fitting that I should say to the children—Thank God for Sunday Schools, they have been of untold benefit, and their work, and improvement, and influence for good were never more important than they are to-day.

Trading should be firmly restrained on the ground that as one day's rest in seven is a national good, it is unfair to allow certain men, by their trading, to take advantage of the relaxation of others.

We cannot interfere with people taking their pleasures on Sunday, but may fairly appeal to them to let us have as quiet a Sunday as possible.

We must discourage people working while we are resting, and avoid whatever will cause others to have to work for our pleasure, and wherever modern requirements are such that a man is deprived of his Sunday's rest, it must be a settled axiom that he shall have one day's rest in seven. Selfish pleasures ought to be subordinated to the public good. Public-houses and food supply shops should be closed as far as the public convenience and sentiment will sustain it, but it is of no use having statutes on the books that are a dead letter.

However varied may be the religions of the nations of the earth, they require a day of weekly observance. The highest development of the religious sentiment is through Jesus Christ, whose life and death we weekly commemorate. The experience of the past shows that a weekly rest is necessary to prevent barbarism, materialism, or exhaustion, and to promote the public good. All true lovers of their country and their race will aid the securing and observance of a day in a manner conducive to the good of the people.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

WESLEY'S WORK IN NOTTS. †

The Wesleyans claim that they have in our City and County 25 ministers, 400 local preachers, 2,500 Sunday School teachers, 10,000. church members, 20,000 Sunday School scholars, 170 chapels, with seating accommodation for 43,500 persons,* and that throughout the world there are 51,000 Methodist ministers, 88,000 churches, 8 400,000 church members, 7,000,000 Sunday School children, and 30,000,000 hearers. The latter figures must, however, be received with caution in the absence of details. This represents a loss of an asset to the Church of England of enormous value, and more than can be reckoned by the counting of heads, because the Methodists, whatever may be their faults, either in church order, or complete doctrine, or personally, are both workers and givers. They pride themselves in finding a place for everyone in which to exercise his talents, and a good Methodist has to contribute to funds of one kind or another from one hundred and fifty-six to two hundred times in a year, and somehow they thrive on it.

The Revs. John and Charles Wesley, both M.A.'s, were born at Epworth, within five miles of our County boundary, and during their ministrations they frequently in going from Oxford or London to or from Epworth, preached in Nottingham on the way, so that we have some degree of special interest in them. John Wesley was born June 17th, 1703. At eleven years of age he was placed at Charter House ; at sixteen at Westminster School ; at seventeen went to Oxford, and quickly took his B.A. ; at twenty-two he was ordained deacon ; at twenty-five, priest. Charles was five years his junior. At Oxford, from their religiousness they obtained the reputation of being what would now be called very High Churchmen, Enthusiasts, belonging to the "Holy Club," and from the strictness and exact method of themselves, "Methodists." Whitfield, Hervey, and others were of the same party. Tireless and painfully exact in the performance

* The local figures have been kindly compiled, or estimated, and supplied me by Mr. A. E. Morton.

of their religious duties, and the use of external means, the "Holy Club," of which John Wesley became a Father, consisted of fifteen University men. They met every night for self-examination, and plans for work. Holy Communion must be observed weekly, and not three times a year, as was customary at the University; they would fast Wednesdays and Fridays. The workhouse and the prison they would visit; children they would teach; the poor they would relieve. They worked thus, doubtless doing good to others, but without peace and joy in their own souls. The two brothers went as missionaries to America, but with poor success, and they returned sadder but wiser men. Their mysticism and their ritualism had failed. Returning, they came under the influence of the Moravians, who taught them that by the exercise of their faith in the person and work of Jesus Christ on their behalf and by the reception of Him as their Saviour and Lord, they could now at once have a sense of acceptance before God, pardon, peace, love, joy, holiness, happiness. They compared this teaching with the various instances given in the Acts of the Apostles. They believed it was Scriptural. They accepted it, and joy came. They sang:—

"Where shall my wondering soul begin;
How shall I all to Heaven aspire?
A slave redeemed from death and sin,
A brand plucked from eternal fire.
How shall I equal triumphs raise,
Or sing my great Deliverer's praise?"

They must now tell others the story. They had made a discovery in the spiritual world. It was greater than that of Archimedes, who shouted "Eureka! Eureka!"—"I have found it!" They must shout too. Samuel, the eldest brother, regarded all this as enthusiasm—lunacy, but it lasted as long as both of them lived—in John's case fifty-three years afterwards. "What Jack means by his not being a Christian till last month I understand not" wrote this bewildered High Churchman. "Is baptism nothing?" His fears were unnecessary. They never questioned the fact that baptism was a divinely appointed ordinance, to be observed as a symbol—St. Peter calls it a figure—of that divine work, the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. Charles Wesley sang:—

"Soon as my all I ventured
On the atoning blood,
The Holy Spirit entered,
And I was born of God."

They did not dispense with the fact, but merely transferred the site of the new birth to the Cross.

John Wesley wisely went off to Germany, and returned some months after with a calm and settled determination to devote himself to the work of spreading the Gospel at whatever cost.

The condition of England in the first half of the eighteenth century can be described only as deplorable. The awful reaction that followed the Puritan reign of the Commonwealth brought with it the licentious example of Charles II. and his Court, accompanied by complete formalism in religion, pluralism and place-hunting by the clergy, bitter persecution by the bishops, complete neglect of the religious life by the people; all that was low and coarse prevailed, atheism and infidelity were rampant, cock-fighting and bull-baiting were sports; sanitation, education, cultivation and philanthropy were almost entirely neglected; drunkenness, crime and poverty abounded. If, therefore, the nation was to be saved, it must be by an unseen and irregular force. The crisis brought the man. Wesley now began preaching with power and joy a gospel of hopefulness to be had and enjoyed by the vilest, but it was a rousing gospel, and the Churches did not like it, and they shut him out. When he was best prepared to preach, well-nigh all the Churches in London became closed against him. He therefore turned to the gaols. At that time men were hanged wholesale, as being the cheapest way of getting rid of offenders. It would cost something to keep them. Reform was not dreamt of. Charles Wesley records preaching to a sad company of the condemned, fifty-two in number, and amongst them a child of ten. The gospel the Wesleys had now to proclaim was exactly fitted to these people—Christ's ability to save the lost from the uttermost depth of degradation. But then there was one great defect—the proceedings were irregular; the gospel tree was by the parochial arrangements paved round with stony rules held together by cast iron bands; would the bands bind the tree, or would the power of life break the bands?

Whitfield was the first to break the bands. He was preaching in Bermondsey Church to a great crowd, and a vaster crowd in the churchyard were unable to gain admission. Why should he not go out and stand on a tombstone and preach to them? He went to Bristol. The Chancellor sent for him, and questioned him as to what right he had to preach there. He talked of the lost souls of men, and he must seek to save them. "I am resolved, Sir, if you preach or expound anywhere in this diocese I will suspend and then excommunicate you," was the great man's decision; and so they parted, and Whitfield prayed, and decided that he must take the risks. Whatever the consequence, these Kingswood miners must be saved. A devastating fire was raging, involving the destruction of thousands of lives; he must help to put it out, although not locally registered as a member of the Fire Brigade. He preached his first open-air sermon to a gaping crowd of two hundred, who were filled with astonishment at seeing a clergyman, with bands and gown, and a voice of thunder, preaching by a roadside a new gospel. His next audience rose to three thousand, the third to five thousand, and soon to twenty thousand. What was to be done? He wrote to Wesley to come and help. Wesley saw that the issues would be great, and pondered, but decided to go; and as he stood to gaze at that vast crowd while Whitfield preached, he could withhold no longer, but on the morrow, as he says, became "vile," and preached from "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor." The die was cast. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned Charles Wesley to appear before him, and dismissed him with displeasure. "I will not proceed to excommunication yet," said the divine, but the pulpits were closed. We cannot follow the story further, however interesting, but must come down to our own locality.

It was more than two years after the events recorded before John Wesley came to Nottingham, on Thursday, June 11th, 1741, and on the following Sunday preached in the Market-place to an immense multitude of people, on "The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live." In the next forty-seven years he visited Nottingham twenty-eight times, his last visit being on July 12th and 13th, 1788. Charles Wesley's first visit was in May, 1743, when he preached at the Malt Cross, and again in

June the two brothers met, and preached in the Market-place, when many thousands attended, and it is recorded, "We began a Society of nine members." Soon persecution began, and we read of the Methodists being driven, pelted, mocked, assaulted by the mob with dirt and stones, fighting with wild beasts, knocked down, etc. John Nelson, one of Wesley's coadjutors, who has written a very interesting "Journal," tells at page 138 of how the mob came and made a noise as if they had been in a cockpit, and one of them came behind him and filled his mouth with dirt out of the channel. "I never felt myself," he says, "so near being choked all my life." On another occasion he says: "When I got to Nottingham I preached to a peaceable congregation," but half an hour afterwards the constable came with a mob at his heels, and took him before one of the Magistrates, Alderman H . . . . . l (query Hornbuckle? whose house was in Narrow Marsh), who said to him: "I wonder you cannot stay in your own places; you might be convinced by this time that the mob of Nottingham will never let you preach quietly in this town." "I replied," says Nelson, "I beg pardon, Sir, I did not know before now that this town was governed by a mob, for most such towns are governed by Magistrates." He blushed, and well he might, but the retort had the desired effect. "Constable," said the Magistrate, "I will not send this man to the House of Correction; I think as you keep a public house you might let him lie there for the night, for he is on his journey." The constable was alarmed. Visions of a Methodist prayer-meeting in his taproom, and of his customers getting converted, flashed before him. "I beg he may not be at my house" implored the constable. "Well then he may go to Mary White's where he came from." A thousand people were outside the Magistrate's house waiting to hear what the order was. "Take care of Mr. Nelson, that no one molest him," called out the Magistrate, "See him safe to Mary White's." The constable seemed much ashamed, and did as he was ordered. This event seems to have terminated the local mob persecutions, which had continued six years.

The Rev. George Whitfield preached in Nottingham several times in 1749-50, and also at Sutton and Mansfield. Mr. Wesley, preaching in Nottingham Market-place in 1770, says: "Thousands upon thousands flocked together, and all were as still as night. He was at Newark in 1743, and in 1780 preached there in a place "covered on three sides, and

on the fourth open to the street. It contained two thousand or three thousand people well, who appeared to hear as for life." He seems to have been at Stapleford twice, and also at Bingham. After 1780 he preached the Nottingham General Hospital Annual Sermon, of which institution he writes: "Everything about it is so neat, so convenient, and so well ordered, that I have seen none like it in the three kingdoms." In 1783 he opened Hockley Chapel.

What was the secret of Wesley's wonderful influence over the people? He was below the ordinary stature, and of very spare build. He had neither the torrent of eloquence nor the powerful voice of Whitfield. He had no property—stay, he had six silver spoons somewhere, of which he rendered account when the officer asked for a return as to the plate he possessed. He had no money, and did not want any. He could lodge at Mary White's, which was a half-a-crown a week kind of house in Chapel Yard, Byard Lane, Nottingham. His sermons now read as dry as a bone, and yet there was a mighty power somewhere. Nelson, the stonemason, says that as he was passing by Kennington Common he heard that Mr. John Wesley was going to preach, and thought he would hear what he had to say. "When he began to speak, his words made me tremble. I thought he spoke to no one but me, and I durst not look up, for I imagined all the people were looking at me, and was ashamed to show my face."—p. 14. It is evident that Wesley was a man of considerable power over his audience, with his eye, with intense earnestness, with the Bible at his finger-ends, with a good knowledge of human nature, with a full communion with God, with full confidence in his message, with large sympathy, and a smile on his face, he produced the impression in the minds of his hearers: "That man knows my case—my trouble, and he has what can cure me. I'll try it!"

Sir Arthur Helps, who was a staunch, thoughtful, capable adviser of Queen Victoria, in one of his books discusses the question, "In what does greatness consist?" and decides that it is neither in being well-balanced, nor in the absence of errors, nor in mere energy, nor in mere unity of purpose—but with these, courage, and openness of mind and soul. "With openness of soul a man sees some way into all other souls that come near him; feels with them; has their experiences; is in himself a people. Sympathy is the universal solvent." That is Wesley's portrait. The message, however,

was greater than the man :—A full salvation for every man living, regardless of his past life, to be had now, on the spot, and lived and enjoyed for ever ; a working from life possessed, and not a working in the hope of some day possibly obtaining good.

What did he accomplish for our country ? He prepared the way for Sunday Schools. He powerfully affected the Church that cast him out. He helped to save the nation from the dreadful scourge of Deism and lawlessness that fell upon the French nation in 1791-3. He and his brother enriched the Church Universal with their hymns, and made tens of thousands of hearts and homes and lives happier and more useful. No man then living exercised such an influence for good ; yet he was denounced and cast out by the heads of the Church. A like blunder was then made by the heads of the nation with regard to the United States ; yet now the blunder is confessed, and a happy unity with America prevails. The Churches now yearn for a visible unity of sentiment, and co-operation in work. It may be there is a good time coming, in which "all they that confess God's holy Name may agree in the truth of His holy Word, and live in unity and godly love."

"The parish priest of austerity
Climbed up in high church steeple
That he might be nearer Heaven, and so
Hand down God's Word to the people.

Each day in sermon script he wrote
What he thought was sent from Heaven,
And dropped it down on the people's heads
Two times one day in seven.

In his age God said : 'Come down and die !'
He cried out from the steeple :
'Where art thou, Lord ?' The Lord replied :
'Down here, among the people !'"

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† *Wesley and His Century*, by the Rev. Dr. Fitchett, M.A. Smith, Elder & Co.

History of Wesleyan Methodism in Nottingham, by G. H. Harwood. 1872. Nottingham : John Ellis.

The Journal of Mr. John Nelson, written by himself, about 1750.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Such was the inscription carved on a wooden box, set on a post that used to stand at the entrance to our parish churches. Ever since the introduction of Christianity into England it was regarded as a part of the duty of the Church to assist in promoting the welfare of the poor. The kindness of God must be reproduced. The love of the Saviour shown in His self-sacrifice for the good of suffering humanity,—to the hungry, the naked, the lame, the blind, the incurable,—must be imitated, and love to Him must be the mainspring setting the work in motion. Hence, when tithes were voluntarily paid, a portion of them was usually devoted to the relief of the poor. In the middle ages, when villeinage and serfdom prevailed, it was the duty of the feudal lords to care for their serfs, who were then attached to the soil, and generally had some land allotted to them. As time passed on this work of relief was usually left to the Monasteries, who doubtless relieved much poverty and suffering, but as vigilant supervision diminished, the work of relief was done as a matter of routine, without careful investigation; and so it came to pass that the benefit in some cases reproduced the evil, promoted idleness, lessened the motive for thrift, and burdened those districts in which the priories were located. Fuller, an old English author, in his Church History, written more than two hundred and fifty years ago, speaks of the Abbeys as dispensing "mistaken charity, promiscuously entertaining some who did not need, and more who did not deserve it. Yea, these Abbeys did but maintain poor which they made . . . . . generally such places wherein the great Abbeys were seated swarm most with poor people at this day, as if beggary were entailed in them." There is no doubt that beggary, as Fuller calls it, is entailed.

Indiscriminate Charity. There is a parish where there are large charity funds for distribution, and it is stated that such distribution has been given to the poor simply because they were poor, without discrimination as to the cause, the result being that a large number of undeserving people settled in that parish because of the charity funds; the charity funds spent led to much drinking, the result of the drinking being an increase in the number of the public houses, and of drunkenness; the outcome of the drunkenness being poverty and crime, the poverty causing an increase in the poor rates—and so the charities, instead of being a benefit to the parish, occasioned a positive burden.

Sturdy Beggars. The number of sturdy beggars in the olden time increased so much that they became rogues, and vagabonds, and robbers, whose operations were dangerous to the well-being of the State, and so the Government had to step in to protect decent and provident people. In 1388 an Act was passed against vagrancy, "sturdy vagabonds," "valiant beggars," and the "penalties were steadily increased under later Acts till a graduated scale was formed under which the first offence was punishable by a public whipping; the second by loss of ears; the third by hanging." —Dr. P. S. Aschrott, a Prussian District Judge, on *The English Poor Law System.*

Two Statutes passed in the 22nd and 27th years of King Henry VIII. assigned punishment to promiscuous begging, and to "men and women being whole and mighty in body" who were found vagrant. These latter were "to be had to the next market town, and there to be tied at the end of a cart, naked, and to be beaten with whips throughout the same town till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping." The second Act made individual parishes responsible for the maintenance of their poor, and further distinguished between "poor, impotent, sick and diseased people being not able to work," who may be "provided, holpen and relieved," and "such as be lusty, having their limbs strong enough to labour," who "may be daily kept in continual labour, whereby every one of them may get their own living with their own hands." The clergy and local officials were to obtain charitable offerings "gathering and procuring voluntary alms of the good Christian people within the same [parish] with

boxes every Sunday and holiday or otherwise," and private alms to beggars were forbidden, and afterwards collectors of alms were appointed.

Overseers. In 1572 the office of Overseer was created, and in 1601, being XLIII. Elizabeth c. 2, "An Act for the Relief of the Poor" was passed, whereby Overseers of the Poor are to be annually nominated for the purpose of setting to work children whose parents are unable to maintain them, and to set to work persons who have no visible means of support, to obtain a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool and other necessaries for the poor to work upon, for relieving the lame, impotent, blind, and others unable to work, and for putting out poor children as apprentices. The Justices are empowered to make rates, the Churchwardens and Overseers are empowered to erect on waste lands houses for persons incapable of work, and so poor relief is recognized as a principle of public concern.

With the exception of a pernicious principle affecting the law of settlement where a person was "likely to be chargeable to the parish," introduced in 1662 under a law of Charles II., which was "a reflection of that unhappy time which was characterized by party spirit and selfish designs, when a weak and morally despicable monarch, who only regarded his own interests, was ready to sacrifice the good of the community to the selfish wishes of particular classes and parties" (*Aschrott*), "in other respects the essential principles of the Act of Elizabeth with regard to the relief of the poor remained undisturbed until the year 1834."

Chargeability. The limitatations and restrictions upon the poor lest they should become chargeable to the locality for maintenance worked very harshly. Mr. Bailey gives various extracts from the book of the Mayors of Nottingham, under the head of 1612 and following years: "Ordered that Richard Blagg depart the Town, or be put in prison till he give security so to do." "George Nix convicted of erecting tenements, and bringing in Strangers; unless he reform his bond to be put in suit." Here is a specimen of narrow little-mindedness: "All shops of persons not burgesses, to be shut up, except on Market-days, and to be dealt with as foreigners. No one to trade in the Town unless a burgess." "Samuel Wilday not to be allowed to keep an alehouse in the Town, he not being free." In subsequent

years "measures more stringent than before were adopted to check the alarming evil of an increasing foreign population." The word "foreign" means not born in the Town.

Lowdham Mill. An article appeared in the *Independent Review* for December, 1906, entitled "A Martyr to Mammon," by John Uniacke, showing the sufferings of factory children at the beginning of the last century, taken from the Memoir of Robert Blincoe, written by John Brown, and published in pamphlet form.

Blincoe was a workhouse waif, sent in 1799, with a large number of other children, from St. Pancras Workhouse to Lowdham Cotton Mill. The children were apprenticed to the owner till twenty-one years of age, and were told they would be fed on roast beef and plum pudding. Blincoe was a winder, aged seven, not tall enough to reach his work, so was beaten, for the over-lookers were cruel. The children worked fourteen hours a day, and on occasions fifteen and sixteen, and were poorly fed. Blincoe made an effort to escape, was caught, brought back, and beaten. The children often lost the joints of their fingers by being caught in the mill. Blincoe lost the forefinger of his left hand; a surgeon put the joints together, and he was again sent to work.

Lowdham was, however, a chapel of ease compared with Litton Mill, near Tideswell, where Blincoe was sent on the proprietors of Lowdham Mill giving up their business. Every morning at five o'clock the governor, carrying a horsewhip, came into the dormitory, where fifty apprentices slept, and flogged them out to work. Their food was porridge and oaten cake. They frequently worked sixteen hours a day without rest or food. Blincoe often dropped down at the frames, and was so weary that, when he left work, he gave a stronger boy part of his supper to let him lean upon him on his way back to the 'prentice house. The children died off rapidly. Fevers—the result of insufficient food and filth—broke out. On one occasion forty boys were down with the fever at once. Mr. Needham, the proprietor of Litton Mill, had part of the dead buried in one churchyard, and part in another, so as to lessen the scandal. Not a spark of pity was shown to the sick; they were worked to the very last moment, then put in a wheelbarrow, and wheeled to their lodging. The dying experienced less attention than a sheep or a pig.

Crippled and deformed by his sufferings, Blincoe lived through them—served his time, became a journeyman, working sixteen hours a day for thirteen shillings a week, scraped together sufficient money to become a chapman, married a woman with a little money, and ended in keeping a small grocer's shop.

Wiertz painted a picture of Napoleon in hell surrounded by the ghosts of the victims of his wars. A modern artist may do the same showing the fortune-hunter mobbed in Hades by the children he had sacrificed to Mammon.

The above is only an epitome of the article, which again is only an epitome of the pamphlet.

Pauper Schools. Referring to the condition of the very poor classes at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mrs. Hodgson supplies me with the following extract from the *Life of Lord Shaftesbury* as showing the horrors of the apprenticeship system: "Overseers of parishes and churchwardens arranged with owners of factories, and pauper children as young as five years old were apprenticed till they were twenty-one years of age." Packed in wagons, they were sent like live stock a journey of five days to Nottingham or elsewhere. "Here they toiled from morning till night, and were often *let* or *hired* out to other factory owners for work. They were checked off according to invoice on their arrival." The factory schools are spoken of as a delusion and a snare. During the two hours' teaching required by law any ignorant person might be the instructor.

Settlement. The Law of Settlement—that is, the law which gave legal residence or establishment of a person in a particular parish, and entitled him to maintenance if a pauper, and subjected the parish to his support—produced a crop of evils, and acted in many ways to the injury of the poor. Every parish tried to get rid of people who were likely to become chargeable to it. The amount of money spent in law costs in contesting the place of settlement, and in the expense of removal, was sometimes as much as would have sufficed to give permanent support. Mr. Benn says: "The average yearly cost of actions at law regarding settlement and removals exceeded £300,000."

In Aid of Wages. One of the worst evils prevailing before the Act of 1834 was that of giving allowance in aid of wages according to the number of a labourer's children. The result was that farmers turned off their men, or refused to employ them at fair wages; then the parish had to find the men work, and the farmers would take them back from the parish at reduced wages paid out of the rates. In many parishes all the able-bodied labourers received an allowance. No poor man could under such a system save any money, for if it was discovered that he had any, work would be refused until the money was gone, and he had become a pauper.

Rates. The local burdens were enormous, and in some places are said to have swallowed up three-fourths of the rent. "At the accession of George I. in 1714 the poor rates amounted to £950.000—equal to 3s. 3¾d. per head on population of 5,750,000; at the accession of George III. in 1760 the population had increased to 7,000,000, the poor rates to £1,250,000—an average of 3s. 6¾d.; while in 1834, the population, estimated from the last census, was 14,372,000, and the money expended in relief £6,317,255—equal to 8s. 9½d. per head. In three years the operation of the Amendment Act had reduced the expenditure one third, viz., to £4,044,741."

Act of 1834. Under the Act of 1834 a Central Department was constituted, having three Commissioners with extensive powers, under which Unions of a number of parishes were formed, and poor houses for the united parishes were built—hence called the Union Workhouses. Outdoor relief was to be subject to the orders of the Commissioners, and in many other respects this Act of more than one hundred sections shows that Parliament had deputed to the Commissioners the power to make, alter, and adapt the law.

The machinery for reforming abuses was provided, but the application to the existing evils and their removal was very slow. Charles Dickens helped the work forward. "Oliver Twist" was begun as a serial in *Bentley's Miscellany* in January, 1837, and was finished in March, 1839. At the time the parochial management denounced in "Oliver Twist" was in actual existence. Dickens struck the prisons and parish abuses of his country, and its schools of neglect and of

crime, and "with only the light arms of humour and laughter, and the gentle ones of pathos and sadness, he carried cleansing and reform into these Augean Stables."

Bingham and Southwell.

While the Act of Elizabeth seems to have wrought some bad effects, the evils apparently arose largely from a want of careful enquiry into the character and circumstances of each applicant for relief, and the educating him into a better way of life, this work being done, not by paid officers, but by voluntary workers, each having small districts, the results being in certain places great good to the poor, and an enormous diminution of cost. Judge Aschrott, at page 27 of his work, instances two places in our County—Southwell and Bingham —where he says remarkable success was achieved, and he adds: "The case of Southwell, Nottinghamshire, deserves special mention. Here the most brilliant results were obtained, under the direction of Sir George Nicholls, to whom the English relief system owes much, and who was the author of that *History of the Poor Law* which we have repeatedly cited. His success was mainly due to an improved administration of the Workhouse, in which were received almost all the applicants for relief, and certainly all the able-bodied. In this parish of about 3,000 inhabitants the poor rate dropped from £2,006 in 1820-1, to £517 in 1823-4, and in subsequent years remained, with slight fluctuations, at the same level."

It thus appears that good administration, even with a bad law, is better than bad administration with a good law.

I am informed by a Southwell friend that Sir George Nicholls had been commander of a ship in the East India Company's service, which was burnt in harbour in 1815, upon which he left the Service, and started a savings Bank at Swindon. He married Miss Maltby, an aunt of Archdeacon Maltby, whose grandfather lived at Southwell, to which place he removed, and became Overseer of the Poor in 1821. He became one of the three first Poor Law Commissioners under the Act of 1834.

Modern Aids.

Since the time referred to gradually the system of poor law relief and public beneficence have been extended by efforts to lessen the sufferings of those who required special care, such as the maintenance of lunatic asylums; the provision of fever and small-pox hospitals; the

maintenance of pauper children in special schools, and boarding-out cottages, outside of workhouses; charges for medicines and medical attendance; vaccination regulations, &c.; the modification of the power of removal; emigration of pauper children to Canada; Reformatory and Industrial Schools; District Nursing Associations; Regulation and Supervision of Midwives; Inspection of Lodging Houses; Institutions for the Blind, Deaf, Dumb, Idiots and Incurables; Hospitals and Dispensaries; Convalescent Homes; Orphanages; Almshouses; and Free Education in Elementary Schools. In connection with the above, such societies as "The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," and "The Charity Organization Society," are distinctly helpful and beneficial to the poor.

Relieving Officers. All past experience shows that too much attention cannot be given to the choice and appointment of relieving officers. To reward political services by such appointments is a prostitution of the office. A man with a clear head, a kindly heart, a firm will, strict discipline, and knowledge of the habits and circumstances of the poor, joined with untiring energy, is a godsend to the Guardians, the ratepayers, and the best interests of the poor. At the same time, a Guardian who undertakes the office for personal reasons, or who, having undertaken it, shirks or neglects the work, attends meetings to have his name put down, and then slips out as quickly as possible, is guilty of a moral misdemeanour, and merits punishment accordingly.

Co-ordination. The system of several bodies in a town having the power to administer relief is not good. By a little manœuvring a man may be able to get help from a Distress Committee, from the Guardians in the form of out-door relief for his wife and children, and the children may be receiving free meals at school. The several bodies may have no knowledge of each others' proceedings. The mischief does not stop here, for all kinds of benevolent societies and persons act without co-operation, enquiry and report, so that by frequent doles, medical institutions, and well-meant, but ill-directed efforts, a class of parasites is created and supported, to the serious detriment of the deserving poor.

The broad principles upon which aid is given to the poor must be based upon the facts that all past history and experience show that harm is done to the poor if their energy is

lessened by giving help to the lazy, the "born-tired" class; if their self-reliance and self-help, self-control and self-sacrifice are diminished; if the sense of responsibility for the proper feeding, clothing, training, and educating of their children is weakened; if the need for thrift and forethought in making —so far as circumstances will allow—some provision for times of bad trade, sickness, family bereavement, and the various chances and changes of this mortal life is removed; if hypocrisy is rewarded by giving where there is a dirty, neglected home because the occupants look to be poor, and withheld where there is a tidy, clean home because they look to be respectable, and if there is neglect to enquire into, and ascertain, and give value to character and habit of life. Further, past experience shows that the various classes must be separated, and each class be dealt with according as wisdom may dictate; thus, the children must be removed as far as possible from pauper surroundings; the able-bodied who are indolently unskilled must be treated hardly, and required to work, in order that indolence and indifference may be prevented, and each class must be dealt with differently with a view to relieve genuine destitution, and to restrain and coerce those who deserve it. The Barnardo spirit is splendid, but so also is the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In this respect kindness and justice must go hand in hand; gospel and law must accompany each other; the Relieving Officer must be aided by the Magistrate; and although Love is the greatest thing in the world, there are some other things equally necessary.

We pay thirteen million pounds a year on Poor Relief, and that is the interest at four per cent. of three hundred and twenty-five million pounds. A truly awful figure. Is it not possible to spend some of this money in prevention by teaching the poor in their own homes? Nothing would more tend to lessen the evil than skilled trained women—ladies if you will —going systematically to the houses of the poor and showing them how to do things--how to buy cheaply, and cook economically; how to manage babies, with a view to lessen the sad infantile mortality, and, what is worse than that, the bringing up of a sickly, weakly, stunted, poisoned race. Such visitors could readily stimulate intelligence, effort, and a sense of responsibility. It may be the day will come when the children in every one of our Day Schools will have a weekly lesson on "How to live healthy lives."

While economy in administration must be carefully watched, that Guardian will make a huge blunder who thinks it to be his only duty to keep down the rates. There are poor souls who have all their lives worked at sweated industries, and have only just managed to keep body and soul together, who falling sick are helpless. There are people of good lives who have had the misfortune to be descended from bad parents, and who all their lives have had to bear the terrible curse of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children. There are sufferers in a hundred forms who need kindly sympathy, and the helping hand of personal service, so that the office of Guardian, properly understood and carried out, is one of privilege, dignity, and responsibility, an essential part of the great system of good government that makes a happy nation.

Idleness. One of the saddest features in all our public institutions is the lack of occupation—may we call it enforced idleness. This applies to workhouses, asylums, hospitals, convalescent homes, and other institutions. This arises from the false idea that there is nothing for people to do, or nothing they can usefully do; and that arises from the fact that nobody has taken the trouble to provide and prepare and teach occupation. The result is that time hangs heavily, and what is worse, that habits of indolence are formed. Even weakly people are best occupied. Time is beguiled, and passes more agreeably with something to do. It would pay a public institution to offer a five pounds reward for anyone to devise some means for the inmates occupying the time with some light—what shall we call it? not work—that word must be avoided. Call it recreation, or occupation, but it must be the business of someone to teach it, for whether it is the reconstruction of articles, the making of cloth remnant rugs, the learning to knit, the growth of plants and flowers, or whatever it may be, there must be a teacher with powers to enforce obedience; and it would pay, for the good people would like it, and the bad, who do not like work, would rather go out than submit to the requirement of activity.

The foregoing remarks are intended to apply to men, but with women there ought to be no difficulty. The making up of articles of underclothing ought in public institutions to find occupation for all the women, and none except those who are ill should be allowed to be unoccupied, but this requires

a plan, forethought, provision, and supervision on the part of those who are in authority, whether as governors or committees, as well as by paid officials. Let the motto of every public institution be, "No Idleness," "No lack of occupation here."

Note.—Since the foregoing article was put in type, Parliament has adopted Old Age Pensions, which doubtless will lead to many alterations.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE HOUSING OF THE POOR.

Great improvements have been made in the dwelling-houses of the poor since the day when a report as to Nottingham was presented to William the Conqueror, that "in the borough ditch there are 17 houses and 6 other houses." In those days the main question in regard to a house was not airiness, light, space, or sanitation, but security, and hardly that among the very poor so much as the mere room to live and shelter. Any hovel was considered good enough for the herdsmen who looked after the cattle, and were attached to the estate.

The Nottingham Common Council in 1612 determined to settle the difficulty caused "by the great confluence of manye pore people from forraine parttes out of this towne to inhabit here," and so they resolved that "noe Burgesse or freeman of this towne shall erect or build anye cottage or cottages or porr habitations," without the special license of the Mayor, nor should they receive as tenants to such houses any person "cominge out of the countrie" "without license" and such as had been received within the past three years the landlord should be required to give security in a penalty to remove the "forraine tenants and their children."—*N.B.R.*, 306. And yet that very year there was presented to the Recorder a petition from poor Burgesses who were "destitute of convenient howseroome for theimselves and their famelies" that they were "either harborles or els compelled for want to take howses otherwayes vpon great rentes and incomes to the great grieff, losse, and wronge of vs Burgesses."—p. 310.

In the olden time houses were without proper chimneys, and the smoke had to find its way out through a hole in the roof or at the door. Later, they had fireplaces open to the chimney beam, such chimneys often being smoky by reason of down draught. The sinkstone with a drain carrying water to the outside is a comparatively modern introduction. Mud floors were common, with reeds or straw for adornment. Bedsteads were uncommon, the people sleeping on straw, and covering themselves with a coarse coverlet, having a flock mattress with a bolster of chaff, or a log of wood. People who were well to do ate wheaten bread all the year round, but the poor ate bread made of barley, rye, or oats, with peas, beans and lentils.

Even in our own day, fifty or sixty years ago, the cottages in our villages were of a wretched description. Built of wattle and daub, with no damp course, with low small rooms, and small windows apparently made to shut air and light out rather than to let them in, with the roof covered with thatch, and sloping down to within a foot or two of the bedroom floor; with two or three small rooms for the housing of large families, in which it was hard to observe the decencies of life, and with the sanitation foul, and sometimes the supply of water poor,—What could be expected but disease, and short lives, for which Providence was blamed, instead of man's neglect?

It is said that the first brick house in Nottingham was built in 1615, and the first roof tiled was in 1503.

Better Houses. Now we see rising up in our towns and villages a class of houses for artizans and labourers in which attention is given to space of the rooms, to the size and height of the windows, to the prevention of damp, to the airiness of a pantry, or place for keeping food, to the sink and its pipe, to the spouts and soft water, to drinking water, to fireplaces or ventilating pipes in bedrooms, to outside conveniences, to neatness of appearance, which is as cheap as ugliness; in some places to the bath, and in others to the garden.

One Room. And yet housing matters in our City and County are not satisfactory. In 1901, out of 113,144 tenements, 36,022 were tenements of less than five rooms. That, however, is not much ground for complaint,

for many families do not require five rooms, but 607 of them were tenements of one room, 3,481 of two rooms, 10,526 of three rooms, 21,408 of four rooms. Even so far there might not be much amiss, for of the 607 one-roomed tenements, there were 331 of them occupied by only one person in each. Poor lonely souls, perhaps one room sufficed for them !—widows or widowers who preferred to live by themselves. Even 168 couples might possibly live comfortably in one room for each couple, but there were 108 families of three to seven persons living in one room for each family. That is a state of affairs which ought not to exist, where, as with us, there is plenty of space. So in 95 cottages with two rooms there were in each house six persons residing, and this state of affairs apparently prevails alike in the City and in the small urban districts and villages outside.

The remedy for this is not in the requirement for houses to have five, four, or even three rooms, but in the Sanitary Authority doing its duty, and notifying where there are an insufficient number of houses in any district for the requirements of the people ; requiring such houses to be supplied with the essentials for health, and that the number of persons housed in any tenement does not exceed its reasonable capacity. We need houses of one, two, or three rooms. It may be the occupiers cannot afford to pay rent for more, or that such accommodation supplies their requirements. The Authority might be empowered to require a return of the number of inmates, such return to be made either by the landlord or the tenants. A larger number of young children might, however, very well be housed in rooms that would not be suitable for a like number of adults.

The remedy is not to be sought, so far as we are concerned, in building by a public authority, for public authorities cannot build as cheaply as private individuals, nor is there any need.

Fortunately we are not afflicted with the plague of harsh rents for small houses, which undoubtedly prevails in London, where special legislation seems to be necessary to prevent the crushing of the poor by exorbitant rentals. The rents in both our City and County are, generally speaking, moderate. Any man in Nottingham, however poor, may obtain a clean and comfortable house at a reasonable rent.

Furnished Rooms. There is, however, an evil growing up affecting a limited class. A man will take a number of houses at rentals of say four shillings a week each, and will furnish them with the barest necessaries of life, and will then let each room, or pair of rooms, at rents equal to those of the entire house. The tenants who will occupy them are often the shiftless, roving, drinking class, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow. This movement will have to be regulated, as it may possibly be made to supply a want.

Repair or Remove. One wonders why Parliament should not pass an Act requiring the owners of all small houses to put them in a sanitary condition and state of repair within two years from the passing of the Act, and requiring local authorities to see its provisions carried out. Either the requirements would be complied with, or they would not. In the former case the required improvement would be secured, tending to health and comfort; in the other case, some houses would be pulled down, others abandoned, and in others the local authority would become the owners, subject to some value for the land and materials being paid to existing owners. By a notice given that after a certain date houses deficient in respect of air, water, light, ventilation, drainage, closet accommodation, and limewashing, would be condemned, great benefit would result.

In all new housing schemes the provision must be made against joint factory or barrack-like accommodation such as the Corporation of Nottingham put up a few years ago at Basford and at Bath Street, but complying with the Englishman's love of a separate home. "Home to me," wisely says John Burns, "is not only a shelter: it is a nursery for the young, a seminary for the youthful, a refuge for the aged. It is the roof-tree of character, the fount of all domestic virtues, and, I believe, it is the source of many of the best national qualities." To which we all say "Amen," for "Home, sweet, sweet home, Wherever you go there is no place like home"; and this love of home must be encouraged by every public authority and by every precept that the preacher or teacher may by admonition urge.

Village Cottages. In some of our villages there are not sufficient cottages to accommodate the workers on the land, and consequently labourers have to walk one, two, or three miles to and from work. Where land-

owners are so negligent, compulsory powers could be given, to operate either in regard to building, or selling, or leasing land at reasonable prices. In many of our villages the cottages are not in a satisfactory condition as regards thickness of walls, air, light, water, sanitation, and otherwise. They ought to be compulsorily made so. A certificate that a house is unfit for occupation, followed by a requirement for emptiness, and a legal inability to demand rent, would quickly be followed by amendment.

The Sanitary Authorities in our small Urban and Rural Districts are not, however, always satisfactorily constituted. Frequently the members of the Authority are the owners of unsatisfactory property, or are tradesmen dependent upon the patronage of such owners. The Medical Officer is professionally connected with their families; the Inspector receives his orders from them. Some person or persons must be clothed with authority, responsibility, and security of position.

This difficulty does not arise in our towns, but the powers to deal with unsatisfactory property needs to be increased, and readily enforced. There must be healthy houses for the people, and once put right they are easily kept right afterwards.

I am purposely avoiding the questions as to existing powers, and also as to what is proposed in Bills before Parliament at the time of writing. I am also purposely avoiding the difficulty arising from the selection of Justices who are asked to condemn property, and who incline to leniency and delay. It must not be forgotten that many properties are mortgaged, and that some owners are nearly as poor as the tenants. The rents coming in are often the sole income of such persons. On the other hand, some of the worst slums are the property of people who are well off.

Municipal Ownership. In the newspapers we often see pictured by a certain class of writers the great advantages that would result from the doing away with private ownership, and the substitution of ownership by the community. The way to test these air-bubbles is to see what advantage is now obtained by communal ownership. The Corporation of Nottingham owns a great number of houses in the City, and considerable land on the outskirts. How much better off are the tenants than if such ownership was vested in other people? The cottage property lets at rentals similar to adjoining properties with private ownership, and

is kept well repaired. The shops in the Market Place belonging to the Corporation are not let at any less rents. The Corporation lets grass land at £4 10s. an acre, and garden land at one half-penny to three farthings per yard per year. The estates are not opened out in any superior form to those of other owners. The simple fact is that the permanent officials do the best they can for their employers, as other people do There is no gain so far as tenants are concerned over tenancy to the best of landlords. There is, however, a very good scale for compensation to garden-holders if their land is taken away.

On the other hand, go into some of our villages, and see the rents charged by those who are sometimes called "bloated aristocrats," and it will be found the cottages are let at one-half what they are worth. Ask also, "What is the usual rent in this parish for land per acre?" and the answer will be, "If it is the Duke's, from 15s. to 20s; other people's land, 50s."

The figures in the two foregoing paragraphs must not be compared, for that would be unfair, one class referring to a big town, and the other to a country village. All that is meant is, that nothing is to be gained by municipal ownership, which does not equal, so far as benefits to tenants are concerned, that of our old nobility.

It is due that mention should here be made of the benevolent work of ladies in connection with the Social Guild. Miss Carey and the ladies working with her exercise care in the selection of tenants of very small houses, constantly supervise them, collect the rents, see to the repairs, and bring to bear a considerable amount of personal influence and various social agencies with excellent results.

It is also due to Dr. Boobbyer to testify to his ceaseless vigilance in promoting the public health, and to the fact that under his influence many landlords who own slum property have during the past few years made great improvements, and the Health Committee, and other Committees, have rendered excellent service.

Why Slums? I have shewn, on page 257, that in Nottingham, before the Enclosure Act, the common rights over the land round the town prevented building, and led to houses being put up wherever there was room, without gardens, or back yards, or regard to the decencies of life, or

open spaces for children playing. The gardens and orchards in Turncalf Alley (Sussex Street) all departed, leaving only names for streets (Plum, Pear, Currant, etc., Streets); the Cherry Orchard in Coalpit Lane (Cherry Street), the Meadow Platts or Gardens, through which the brook called "the Beck" flowed, from Beck Street to Fisher Gate, all were covered with houses of the worst description.

The Drink Fiend came in and aggravated the evil.

When the Mayor lived in Narrow Marsh it was good for both Mayor and people, but what are now alleys were then long gardens. There is no better influence in a village than for the squire, parson and people to all live as neighbours. In the last century the gentry of Nottingham lived round St. Mary's Church, but the time came when the employer went to the west end, and the employee to the east end, and the residue were left in the old parts, the majority of them sinking into a community of habit and feeling. We are all influenced by a sentiment operating in our little world, and if there be no sentiment higher than ourselves, we are liable to sink.

One reason for the present state of affairs is that there has been developed a class who follow professional unemployment. These are not the unfortunate men who by reason of badness of trade are out of work, but will get into work again as quickly as possible, and who merit help. The class referred to are those who shirk work, who live on the earnings of their wives and daughters, who have not for years done an honest full day's work, and who while they clamour for it do not want it. Some of this class will have their beer, and smoke their pipe, and pay for their evening's pleasure, but will not work. There is another class—the destructive class—who will wreck a house in a few weeks, shelves, windows, plumbing, all become smashed. This class of people do not want better surroundings. They are satisfied with what they have. Baths would be of no use to them. Trees and flowers have to them no meaning, and there may come a stage in a filthy house when it has a living leprosy, the only remedy for which is, as Moses provided, to be broken down, and "carried forth out of the city to an unclean place" for destruction.

Small Rentals. What now shall we do with these small crowded houses? It is of no use pulling them all down, the cost would be enormous, and similar-sized ones could not be built except at double rents, which would

occasion two families going into one house. Twelve years ago the Great Central and Great Northern Railway Companies bought the properties then standing on the site of the present Victoria Station, and on the route of the railways. Twelve hundred tenements were pulled down, three hundred new ones were built. Of the dispossessed tenants only one went into the new houses. The rents of the dwellings pulled down were 2/-, 3/6, to 5/- per week. Those built were 6/6 to 7/6, the requirements of the Local Government Board being so onerous that the rents named became necessary. The tenants dispossessed went and occupied other slums than those they had vacated. Many of them were widows, or aged poor people, who could not afford to pay higher rentals. The experience gained in carrying out part of the above scheme convinced me that the only wise way to deal with very small houses is not to pull them all down, but to brighten and sweeten some of them. This can be done in a variety of ways. One house may be demolished and thereby more air and more light may be obtained for others. The sanitary arrangements must be remedied. A pantry for keeping food should be obtained. The back yards may in many cases be improved.

There are, however, streets in Nottingham where amendment is absolutely hopeless. The houses might be remedied. Back to back double rows might have doorways broken through, and one-third of the value only sunk, but where women drink, and give their children strong drink till they like it, the house will go to the dogs, and the children may go to the devil. Unfortunately the evil referred to is an increasing one. There have been more slums made in Nottingham during the past twenty years than in a generation before, and the downward course is quickening.

It must be borne in mind that it is the people who make the slums, not the slums the people. Of course there is a certain amount of reflex action, but let the slum people be put into a palace, and in a few years it would become a slum. Streets in Nottingham have deteriorated as much as any jail bird, and the drinking facilities increase the evil. Where the Victoria Station now stands there was a spot were five public-houses stood within a length of sixty yards, and their takings were over £200 a week. There are slum streets where there are drinking houses practically at every fifty yards distance ; indeed, one district has one such house every thirty-three yards. Go into that street at half-past two

on Sunday afternoon, and nearly every woman met will be carrying a bottle or jug. No wonder that some of the people or children become vicious, some idle, and some have lost all heart and hope. But the rights of property are sacred, and the liberty of the subject must not be interfered with! The people are not all alike. There are many genuine virtuous, industrious, cleanly poor in the worst slums. In some cases of the suffering poor the sins of the fathers have been visited on the children, while in many cases children have never been taught the value of things, and the cost of replacement, and to such, smashing is a positive pleasure.

Aids. By all means let us have cheap railway suburban fares, such as season tickets to Bulwell costing one shilling a week; let our trams run out of Nottingham four miles from the Market Place in every suitable and paying direction. Let us have town planning, and extended powers over acquiring and laying out of land where it will be for the public good. Let us have garden cities where societies or private individuals will develop them, but this will still leave our slums, which must be dealt with. Several methods have been mentioned. Two more may be suggested. One, a notice by the Authority where the property is bad, and circumstances justify it, that in ten years the houses will be pulled down, and only the value of the land will be paid, or (2) in some cases an offer to buy at ten years' net income would be accepted, and the site before that time be cleared.

It may very properly be said that suggestions like these only touch the fringe of the subject. That is true, and no complete system can be available without time, thought, and combined effort. A bachelor or old maid, it is said, can readily define how children ought to be brought up, but their suggestions would cause the father of a family to smile. A platform orator may at once settle the situation to his own satisfaction by talking of "Capital and Labour," "Land Values," "Human Sympathy," and such like stock phrases, but here is a problem beset by enormous difficulties which cannot be overcome in an off-hand manner. We have pulled down the labourers' cottages in the villages, and in the towns have put the dwellings of the well-to-do in the west end, and left the cottages of the poor crowded in the low parts regardless of air, light, sanitation or beauty. It may be the sins of the past will have to be atoned for before present suffering can introduce future good.

Trees and Creepers. One word in favour of trees wherever practicable being planted in the low parts of the City. Many of our streets and houses, and especially our back yards, are extremely ugly. It took ages to teach and learn the lesson that neatness is as cheap as ugliness, and that due proportion in the size of doors and windows, and in the height and width of buildings, please the eye. As, however, many of our houses lack proportion and adornment, it is desirable that we should supply the lack by planting, where practicable, creeping plants to grow up by the sides of houses, buildings and walls, and by trees in our bare and bald streets. The greenness of trees and plants has a restful influence on the mind, and beauty gives pleasure. Anyone who doubts the influence for good may see an illustration in a third-class street—Poynton Street, Derby Road—where an ash tree, ivy and flowers have a very pleasing effect. See also Marsden's Court, Sussex Street. Children learn by use to let the flowers alone. Fifty years ago complaints of damage in Nottingham Arboretum were much more common than now.

In *Practical Housing*, by J. S. Nettlefold, Chairman of the Birmingham Corporation Housing Committee, is a good half-crown's worth of information, common sense, practical experience, and useful illustrations. Pictures at page 118 show the back yards of cottages before and after conversion.

To sum up, our slums must be brightened and sweetened, they cannot be entirely swept away. Very varied and considerate action must be taken, with allowance of time for adaptation to both landlords and tenants. Meanwhile, we must bring to bear every influence of pulpit, press, school, police, gas lamps, water, trees, open spaces (like Pepper's Place, in Narrow Marsh), and otherwise, with a due regard to amendment, combined with economy. Let the children be taken bodily by their school teachers twice a week into the Arboretum and Forest, and there have, as well as in school, the wonders of nature unfolded to them. Let their lessons in school be largely and specially on the management of their bodies, their habits, their morals, their houses, and the value of things. Let them be specially drilled in habits of respect for law, order, and good conduct. Make cleanly houses compulsory. Take the temptations to drink away. When all has been done the success may be only partial, for we must never forget that true and lasting reform must largely come by transformation from within.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

INCLOSURES IN THE COUNTY.

One hundred and fifty years ago our County looked very different to what it now does. There were fewer hedges and single trees in hedge rows, but there were many woods in which the villagers were enabled to gather firewood, and bracken which they used for bedding, and there were great open moors and commons for horses, cows, sheep, pigs, and geese. Leland, the King's Antiquary, who in 1533 was commissioned to go through the country and search the records of the priories, to which he devoted six years, tells of going from "Notingham to Bever [Belvoir] all by champaine ground, 12 miles," that is, all open unenclosed country, "So coming South from Rotherham he found 'very woody Grounde,' then hethy, then 'Corney and Paster,' then 'Ground very fruitful of Corne.'" "After that I cam a little beyond Trent I saw all Champaine Grounde, undecunque within sight, and very little wood but *infinita frugum copia*."—Quoted in *English Peasantry*, p. 228.

Two hundred years ago all the country between Tuxford and Sheffield was unenclosed, and the roads were packhorse tracks, and from Nottingham to Mansfield was a continuous wood.

Enclosures of common fields were carried out either by authority of the monarch, or by a common agreement between owners, or by the action of a single owner without opposition, sometimes by force and fraud, or under special Acts of Parliament, or under a general Act by Commissioners appointed, usually being local land agents.

Statutes. The Statute of Merton, 1235, gave to lords of manors the right to enclose commons providing sufficient pasture was left to the tenants. The Statute of Westminster followed (1285) in a like direction. These powers were exercised to such an extent for sheep farming, and the value of wool, and for other reasons, that in 1489, 4 Henry VII., the King complains of the "daily increase of desolation and pulling downe and wilfull waste of houses and townes. . . . For where in some townes two hundred persons

were occupied and lived by their lawfull labours now there are occupied two or three heardmen, and the residue fall into idlenesse, the husbandrie which is one of the greatest commodities of this Realme is greatly decayed, Churches destroyed, the service of God withdrawn, the bodies there buried not prayed for," etc. Tillage was thereupon required to be maintained. Acts to restrain the evils arising from sheep farming to the depopulation of the country were numerous in the days of King Henry VIII. and succeeding monarchs, and under Elizabeth there were Acts for the protection of cottagers' holdings, requiring the re-building of farm houses, and one applicable to our County, and chiefly to midland counties, prohibiting the conversion of tillage lands to pasture, as "there have growen many more Depopulations by turning Tillage into pasture." The penalties for non-compliance were heavy, and they were to be divided one third each to the Queen, the parish, and the informer.

There may have been some mischief taking place in our County as well as in Leicestershire in 1653, to justify the title of a pamphlet published, entitled *The crying sin of England of not caring for the poor wherein Inclosures, viz.: Such as doth unpeople Towns and Uncorn Fields is Arraigned Convicted and Condemned by the Word of God*, by John Moore, Minister of Knaptoft, in Leicestershire. It is said the Midlands were at this time conspicuous in the Inclosures, to the injury of the poor.

In 1760, Parliament started on a wholesale system of enclosing the common lands throughout the country, and it is said that nearly seventeen hundred private Acts were passed, resulting in enclosing within the next one hundred and twenty years of ten millions of acres. The system of a separate Act for each Inclosure was found to be cumbersome and costly, so in 1801 Parliament devised a system of enclosure by a General Act, and this Act contained a provision for small allotments being set apart and fenced for grazing purposes on small holders lodging their claims.

Further developments were made by the Act 6 & 7 W. IV. Cap. 115, and by 8 & 9 Vic. Cap. 118, which have been often amended; a Board of Commissioners was appointed to enquire into the propriety of any proposed enclosure or partition, and to report to Parliament, which might then

pass a public Act authorizing their proceeding, but if the owners agree formalities may be largely dispensed with.

In our County there were doubtless many small occupiers —squatters, they might be called—who had put up their houses—shanties, shall we call them?—and who lived in some form, and their cattle went about the common; their ducks and geese swam in the common stream. No provision seems to have been made in many of the Acts for occupiers, except in certain parishes a piece was set apart for common or joint pasturage, or agistment, called "gates," or "yard-lands," or by other names; but this applied in only a few cases. Playgrounds for children were not then deemed necessary, or recreation grounds for adults, or allotment gardens for the poor, or lands to be set apart as endowments for village schools. Not even the village green was saved. Corn was dear, and the land was wanted for growing corn. Now that same land is largely laid down for grass, but the change arises from other causes.

Several Inclosure Acts have in recent years been passed giving all that can be reasonably expected, but a comparison of them with the older Acts operating in our County shows that the lords of manors, and other land owners and tithe owners, particularly owners of impropriate tithes, had been unduly favoured and their incomes largely increased; and now, looking at the list of Inclosures in our County, we may fairly appeal to the descendants of the prior owners to act with public spirit and liberality, for in that list will be seen the names of places where the children have no playgrounds even to their schools, but they have to play on the roads, to the danger of the little ones.

On the other hand, most of the older Inclosures secured sixty feet roads, which gave good verges on which the poor man could tend his cow or his goat, but the modern reforming spirit cut down the roads to narrow lanes of thirty feet, which are now found inconvenient and dangerous.

Varied Ownership. To realize the position fully we must take into account the varied forms of ownership of land in each parish. The simplest form would, of course, be where one man owned all the land in the parish, with the right to dispose of it at will, or having a life tenure with remainder to heirs in due succession. In such case, he

might possibly dispense with an Act, unless there were acquired rights or roads to change. Some parishes have the land in copyhold. In such case the ownership of the surface might not carry with it the ownership of the minerals, and these might be different in the case of land cultivated in strips—commonable fields, and in common pastures into which there was the right to turn a fixed number of head of cattle. The most usual form in our villages was for there to be a lord of a manor with certain rights, a number of freeholders having in addition to homesteads certain old Inclosures, with or without the ownership of strips of arable land, and the right to turn cattle on a common or moor, and there might be a wood and waste. All this land, or a large part of it, was held subject to tithe, and such tithe might be the great tithes often sold to a distant owner, or the small tithes payable to the vicar of the parish.

It will help to illustrate what has been, or will be, said if three cases are referred to in the order of the date of the Inclosure — Hucknall Torkard, Stapleford, and Sutton-in-Ashfield :—

Hucknall Torkard. By an Act passed in 1769 one thousand two hundred acres were enclosed. There was awarded to Lord Byron as Lord of the Manor 26a. 1r. 26p. for his right and interest as lord of the soil, and to the timber and minerals upon or under the common and waste lands; to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, 24a. 2r. 16p.; to the Rev. Thomas Nixon, as Curate, and entitled to small tithes, 17a. 1r. 21p.; to Lord Byron as owner of the Impro-, priate Tithes, and to Thomas Nixon, as Curate, 315a. 1r. 32p., this latter being equal in value to one-seventh of the open fields, meadows and pastures, and one-twelfth of the commons and waste lands, and one-tenth in value of all the yards, gardens, homesteadings, and old enclosed lands, out of the lands hereinbefore set out as tithes.

The twenty-four acres awarded to the Churchwardens and Overseers, after having been for about eighty years let for agricultural purposes, was at length divided into allotment gardens. Roads sixty feet.

Stapleford and Bramcote. Under an Act passed in 1771 the Commissioners were directed to lay out roads sixty feet wide, and then to allot to Humphrey Hudson, in lieu of the tithes on lands belonging to the Rev.

W. Chambers, D.D., equal in value to one-seventh part, and also to allot to him in lieu of tithes on old enclosures one-tenth part of the old enclosed land; then to allot to the trustees of the Charity of Godfrey Foljambe, of Walton, one-eighth part of the lands in Bramcote for impropriate tithes; then to the Vicar of Bramcote lands equal in value to the glebe lands, and the residue to the several owners and proprietors. Out of nine hundred and sixty-eight acres, fifty-eight acres were allotted in lieu of tithes, twenty-nine acres to H. Hudson, one hundred and sixty-four to the Rev. W. Chambers, three acres to the Churchwardens in lieu of lands, five and a half to a school at Woodborough, and the rest divided among the owners. Two parts out of five of the tithes had been about 1108 given to Lenton Priory, and these were for five marks per annum in 1259 transferred to Newstead Priory. Newstead and its lands were by King Henry VIII. appropriated.

Sutton-in-Ashfield. The Act was passed in 1794, and the award was made in 1801. Out of a total acreage of six thousand one hundred and seventy-six acres the Common or Waste (Forest) Land to be enclosed was 3,092a. 0r. 34p. The figures are kindly supplied me by Mr. Gershom G. Bonser. It was by the Act declared that all enclosures should be freehold and discharged from all suits, services, manorial rights, and incumbrances, the result being that all land in Sutton and Hucknall Huthwaite is tithe free. It is always understood that the Cavendishes profited largely in one form or another by the distribution of monastic lands, and by the diversion of the funds which previously belonged to the Church. One form may have been by the purchase of the Impropriatorial Tithes: that is, the appropriation of tithes by a layman for his own profit, whereas the tithes were given for spiritual and charitable purposes, and these were the larger tithes—tithes upon the more valuable articles, such as wood, corn and hay, the smaller tithes being upon milk, cheese, eggs, chickens, and the like. Wool sometimes went with the greater, and at other times with the lesser, tithe. There was allotted to the Duke of Devonshire in lieu of Impropriatorial Tithes two thousand and fifty-two acres. To the Duke of Portland, as Lord of the Manor, one hundred and eight acres; and one hundred and seventy allotments were made to all those who had common rights. The Poor had 1a. 0r. 30p., and the Surveyor of Roads had 6a. 3r. 32p.,

but, of course, the Church of England had to go without, because the Lay Impropriator stood in its stead. It is, therefore, not surprising to read in the *Diocesan Calendar* that the net annual income of the living of Sutton, including Hucknall (but excluding what has recently been given), with four churches and a population of about twenty thousand, is only £271 ! and further, that the Duke of Devonshire and four others have the patronage of the living, and it must be remembered that the minerals are worth much more than the surface of ordinary agricultural land. The Duke of Portland now owns what was allotted to the Duke of Devonshire, and the land, being for the most part sandy and difficult to work, the Duke's rent from the farmers on the land referred to is only 5/- to 10/- per acre, which is very much cheaper and better than any County Council allotment, or small holding, could possibly be, and with almost equal security of tenure.

The Awards. Three Commissioners were usually appointed, being Land Agents or Surveyors, to ascertain all rights and their values; to then set out all roads, whether public or accommodation, and footpaths; to then award to the owners of tithes a certain portion or proportion of land in lieu of tithes, certain portions to the Lord of the Manor, and certain others in lieu of old enclosures, the remainder to be awarded to the various owners in proportion to their holdings, provision, however, being made for the sale of as much land as would pay for the cost of the Inclosure. In many parishes there was land called Waste, being wild and uncultivated. The Commoners, that is, those persons who were entitled to rights of common, often complained that the Lord of the Manor got this waste land, or more than his fair share of the rest. In all these proceedings it will be noticed that there was neither claim by or provision for the occupiers of cottages or the public. The Commoners were not the common people, but the owners of commons.

There was, however, in some parishes a class of tenant who had one land or strip, or two, or ten, and so on, as he could afford to get more, and as others were willing to transfer. This system of occupation was undoubtedly helpful to labourers to climb the ladder, for with health, energy, a good wife, and several children, a man who had not a penny to begin with was able to raise his family and gradually increase his holding.

Woe to Rural England. In an article in *The World's Work* (a useful magazine) for July, 1907, entitled "The Coming of the Hedge—How it brought Woe to Rural England," particulars are given of the Laxton system in our County with its commonable lands, arable fields, and common pasture (see page 26), and it adds, "But before the enclosed fields round the village. . . . were partitioned and hedge-bound the community also possessed commonable meadows. The neighbouring parish (Eakring) still has such commonable meadows. As soon as each holder has cut his hay, the commoners' beasts are turned on to the common ground. The commonable meadows are open when only one man has hay uncarried. If he wants to protect it he must either engage watchers, which would badly pay him, or persuade a neighbour to protect him by leaving a haycock of his own uncarried."—p. 192.

There is little doubt that the motive for inclosures was largely to secure the tithe by having land instead of tenths, and to increase the rent-roll where the land chiefly belonged to one or to a few holders. At the same time the small man suffered by the number of small holdings being greatly diminished. It is strange that it did not occur to the promoters of enclosures that the strip system might be amended by the consolidation of, say, ten odd half-acres being made into one piece of five acres without hedges, and joint pastures being occupied by two, or a greater number, according to size.

The cultivation by strips was not good for the land. It prevented cross-ploughing, harrowing, etc. It was disagreeable for a good cultivator to be side by side with a bad one, especially when by the wind blowing, it spread weed-seed, or ripe crops, or when excessive rains caused flooding, or carelessness or malice came in, and mutual forbearance was wanting. There is much that can be said for and against the old system. We have now too many hedges, which greatly tend to increase rubbish, to lessen the produce of the land, and to require labour out of proportion to their benefit. Half of them might usefully be cut down. The hedge system has, however, completely superseded the old open field system, and we shall not return, whatever modification takes place.

An evil followed the inclosures, and that was, building a cottage or a farm-house in the middle of the holding, instead of in the village, as of old. It may not be a general rule, but

the tendency is for a farmer or cottager living at an odd house to become selfish, boorish, suspicious, and the children dull and slow; while in a village mutual helpfulness is largely promoted, and the children brightened by contact with others.

To compare and contrast our villages as they now are with what they were one hundred and fifty years ago, and to put all the disadvantage to the debit of the inclosure system is undoubtedly a mistake. Sir Walter Gilbey says, "The repeal of the Corn Laws, in 1846, marked a new era in British farming. Wheat growing became less profitable, and land that had been devoted to the cultivation of wheat was laid down to grass to maintain cattle, of which the farmers began to realise the importance."

The present system must also be credited with the fact that the total sum of food, or yield of the land, has been greatly increased by conversion from waste and natural grass —two blades of grass grow where one grew before.

Items of Interest. There are items of interest in connection with many of the inclosures. For instance, in the Lambley Act it is recited that the Earl of Chesterfield, as hereditary Ranger of Thorneywood Chase, is entitled to herbage covert and layer for his deer and beasts of forest or chase therein, in respect of which rights one-twentieth part of the coppices, commons and waste lands were allotted. In Stapleford the Commissioners were directed to award and allot one thousand one hundred acres, but when they proceeded to the work they could find only 968a. 1r. 19p. Where had the rest gone to, if it had ever been there? In Kirkby the actual allotment of land to the Church was about one thousand one hundred acres, and to the Lord of the Manor seven hundred and thirty acres; these were largely wild, waste, poor land, but the discovery many years afterwards of minerals has made a great difference in value, and the income for the three churches in Kirkby is now £1,599. The areas are supplied me by Mr. J. G. Shacklock.

In Carlton-in-Lindrick, "Three acres [out of a total of 2492 acres] are to be set aside for building cottages for the benefit of the poor."—*G. Slater*, 127.

Present Commons. We have not in the County many commons left, but what few there are should be preserved. There may not be many rights over them, but those rights may be purchased and transferred. The Cor-

poration of Nottingham bought up all the rights of the old toftstead holders in Bulwell over the Common, and devoted the ground to good public uses, but if a speculator had done the same, and then appropriated the ground, where would public rights or uses have been ?

It is highly desirable that the Awards to all the County Inclosure Acts should be examined to see if the provisions and the conditions attaching thereto have been, or now are being fulfilled, and that the rights thereunder given, or given in the local Acts, as to roads, footpaths, boundaries, etc., are being exercised. Unfortunately, only few of the Acts, Awards, and Plans, are with the Clerk of the Peace for the County. An effort should be made by each County Councillor to see if the Awards are in the Parish Church Chest, and to obtain and lodge copies of the Acts, Awards, and Plans for the several parishes he represents. The County Council might with advantage spend a few pounds, if it legally can do so, in securing copies, which are often to be found in local solicitors' offices, or in the Government offices in London, or in the old registers at York.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

INCLOSURES—SCHEDULE AND MR. LOWE'S REPORT, Etc.

The following list is compiled from (1) A Parliamentary Blue Book—*Commons* (*Inclosure*) *Awards*—the list given in which is exceedingly defective ; (2) A number of Acts of Parliament inspected ; (3) *General View of Agriculture*, by Robert Lowe, Esq., in 1794, and his lists, he says, were copies of what were inrolled with the Clerk of the Peace at Newark, or at Southwell, where there was local jurisdiction ; (4) In a number of cases, Vicars, Solicitors, Land Agents, or other gentlemen, have kindly supplied the figures ; (5) *The English Peasantry, or the Enclosure of Common Fields*, by Gilbert Slater.

The areas are in some cases those given in the Acts (but many Acts omit them), and in others the figures given in the Awards, but the two sets often differ. In other cases they

are supplied, or extracted, from a variety of sources; they must therefore be taken as approximate only.

Returns of Awards ought to have been made to the Clerk of the Peace, but in many cases they have not been made, or if made a hundred years ago, have been lost.

THE COMMONS INCLOSURES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

PARISH OR HAMLET.	YEAR OF ACT.	DATE OF AWARD.	ACREAGE ENCLOSED. A.	R.	P.
Alverton	44 George III. ...	1810	410	0	0
Annesley	48 George III. ...	1809	582	3	13
Arnold	29 George III. ...	1791	2280	0	0
Askham (41 Geo. III.)...	6 & 7 William IV.	1841	305	0	34½
Balderton	1766	1768	3077	0	35
Barnby, Blythe, Sutton	47 George III. ...	1809			
Barton and Clifton ...	32 George II. ...	1759	1500	0	0
Basford	32 George III. ...	1797	1360	0	0
Beckingham	1776	...	2000	0	0
Beeston (Pye Close) ...	46 George III. ...	1809	840	0	0
Beesthorpe	1795				
Besthorpe	6 & 7 William IV.	1846	Meadows		
Bleasby	1777	1781	447	2	39
Blidworth	9 George III. ...	1770	3500 1508	0 0	0 32
Blidworth	45 George III. ...	1812	2329	3	9
Blyth and Harworth ...	1802				
Blyth	54 George III. ...	1819	122	0	0
Bramcote and Beeston...	Provisional Order	1848			
Boughton	General Inclosure Acts	1871			
Broughton Sulney ...	1760	...	2000	0	0
Bunny	37 George III. ...	...	1000	0	0
Burton Joyce and Bulcote	8 George III. ...	1769	1600	0	0
Calverton	19 George III. ...	1780	2339	0	0
Carlton-in-Lindrick ...	7 George III. ...	1768	2492	0	0
Carlton-on-Trent ...	5 George III. ...	1766	852	3	3
Caunton, Beesthorpe, etc.	35 George III. ...	1795	823	0	0
Clarborough and Welham	16 George III. ...	...	1180	0	0
Clarborough Moorgate...	39 George III. ...	1806			

THE COMMONS INCLOSURES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—CONTINUED.

PARISH OR HAMLET.	YEAR OF ACT.	DATE OF AWARD.	ACREAGE ENCLOSED. A.	R.	P.
Clayworth (and 959 a.)	30 George III. ...	1792	2000	0	0
Clifton	1760				
Coddington	1760	1761	1780	0	0
Costock	1760	...	710	0	0
Cotgrave	1790	...	2365	0	0
Cromwell	1773	1773	1342	1	23
Cropwell Butler & Bishop	1787				
Cropwell Bishop ...	41 George III. ...	1804	1286	3	30
Dunham, Ragnall, Darlton	43 George III. ...	1815	1430	0	0
East Bridgford	36 George III. ...	1801			
East Drayton	59 George III. ...	1825	700	0	0
East Markham (? 1810)	40 George III. ...	1816			
East Retford	41 George III., 6 & 7 William IV. ..	1845			
East Stoke and Elston...	35 George III. ...	1801	2500	0	0
Eastwood	31 George III. ...	1793			
Eaton	1809	...	796	0	0
Edingley and Halam ...	1777, Ancient ..	1781	1365 1919	0 3	3 10
Edwinstowe (& 1,600 a.)	58 George III. ...	1821	1487	0	0
Egmanton	2 George IV. ...	1825	1033	1	23
Elton	47 George III. ...	1809	900	0	0
Epperstone	8 George III. ...	1770	1027	3	27
Everton and Harwell ...	32 George II. ...	1761	1489	1	27
Farndon	1767	1769	1696	0	1
Farnsfield	1777 old new ...	1779	975 2714	1 0	10 22
Finningley	1774	...	7000	0	0
Flintham	1775	1777	1959	0	0
Gamston	1808	..	520	0	0
Gateford, Shireoaks, Worksop	36 George III. . .	1797			
Gedling (? 750 only) ..	32 George III. ...	1796	3406	2	14
Gotham...	44 George III. ...	1806	2000	0	0
Granby and Sutton ...	33 George III. ...	1799			
Grassthorpe, Marnham, and Normanton ...	37 George III. ...	1801	350	0	0

THE COMMONS INCLOSURES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—CONTINUED.

PARISH OR HAMLET.	YEAR OF ACT.	DATE OF AWARD.	ACREAGE ENCLOSED. A.	R.	P.
Great Leake	1798	...	3000	0	0
Gringley	1796	1801	3000	0	0
Halam (see Edingley)					
Haworth	39 George III. ...	1804	1300	0	0
Hawksworth	33 George II. ...	1761	639	3	20
Hayton	1760	...	1260	0	0
Headon-cum-Upton ...	55 George III. ...	1818			
Hickling	15 George III. ...	1776	2601	0	7
Hucknall Torkard ...	9 George III. ...	1771	1200	0	0
Keyworth	38 George III. ...	...	1500	0	0
Kirkby (old 3701 a.) ...	35 George III. ...	1795	2023	2	37
Kirton	2 George IV. ...	1825	154	1	5
Kneesall	1778	...	800	0	0
Lambley	1792	1794	660	0	0
Laneham	1772				
Laxton (Moorhouse) ...	Inclosure Acts ...	1860			
Lenton and Radford ...	7 George III. ...	1768	1000	0	0
Lenton and Radford ...	36 George III. ...	1799	300	0	0
Linby Wighay	Inclosure Acts ...	1850			
Littleborough	3 George IV. ...	1828			
Lowdham	5 George III., c. 29	1768	2500	0	0
Mansfield	Inclosure Acts ...	1855	2600	0	0
Mansfield Woodhouse ...	Inclosure Acts ...	1854	1545	0	0
Mattersey (old 637 a.) ...	10 George III. ...	1773	1720	0	28
Misson	1760	...	3760	0	0
Misterton	11 George III. ...	1775	500	0	0
Morton Fiskerton ...	2 & 3 Victoria, etc.	1842	421	2	6
Newark-on-Trent ...	40 George III. ...	1803	400	0	0
Newthorpe, Beggarlee, Greasley	14 George III. ...	1775	350 332	0 2	0 6
Normanton-on-Soar . .	10 George III. ...	1771	1195	3	23
Normanton-on-Trent ...	40 George III. ...	1808	750	0	0
Normanton, nr. Southwell	1775	1776	426	2	37
North Collingham ...	30 George III. ...	1795	1574	0	0
North Leverton ...	35 George III. ...	1801	1400	0	0
North Muskham, Holme, and Bathley	1771	1773	1649 3000	3 0	26 0

THE COMMONS INCLOSURES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—CONTINUED.

PARISH OR HAMLET.	YEAR OF ACT.	DATE OF AWARD.	ACREAGE ENCLOSED.		
			A.	R.	P.
North Wheatley (41 Geo. III.)	6 & 7 William IV. c. 115	1840			
Norwell	7 George IV. ...	1832	1300	0	0
Ordsall	40 George III. ...	1813	410	0	0
Orston and Thoroton ...	33 George III. ...	1797	2200	0	0
Ossington	41 George III. ...	1845			
Oxton	8 & 9 Vict. c. 118	1852	1140	0	0
Pinxton	52 George III. ...	1829	24	3	25
Plumtree	1805	...	1770	0	0
Radcliffe-on-Trent ...	27 George III. ...	1790	1500	0	0
Rampton (41 G. III., 7 W. IV.	3 & 4 Victoria ...	1845			
Ranskill and Scrooby ...	42 George III. ...	1803	1300	0	0
Rempstone	1768	...	1230	0	0
Ruddington	7 George III. ...	1767	2700	0	0
Scarrington & Aslockton	1780	1781	1996	0	16
Scraftworth	12 George III. ...	1773	427	2	6
Screveton (old 730 a.) ...	16 George III. ...	...	350	0	0
Scrooby	1775	...	1350	0	0
Selston Com.	Inclosure Acts ...	1877			
Skegby	48 George III. ...	1823	259	0	32
Sneinton	36 George III. ...	1798	800	0	0
South Clifton and N. ...	Inclosure Acts ...	1870			
South Leverton ...	35 George III. ...	1801	1600	0	0
South Scarle, Girton ...	8 & 9 Vict. c. 118	1851	584	0	0
Southwell, Cotmore, and Radley	...	1775	228 125	3 1	26 34
Southwell, Easthorpe ...	41 Geo. III., 7 Wm. IV.	1844	116	1	34
Spalford, Clifton, Girton, Wigsley, Thorney ...	53 George III. ...	1817	1000	0	0
Stapleford and Bramcote	11 George III. ...	1772	968	1	19
Staunton	1759				
Strelley and Bilborough	48 George III. ...	1828	400	0	0
Sturton Fenton	3 George IV. ...	1828	445	0	0
Styrrup, Oldcoates, Blyth, Harworth	42 George III. ...	1807			

THE COMMONS INCLOSURES IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—CONTINUED.

PARISH OR HAMLET.	YEAR OF ACT.	DATE OF AWARD.	ACREAGE ENCLOSED.		
			A.	R.	P.
Sutton-on-Trent ...	43 George III. ...	1808	1800	0	0
Sutton-in-Ashfield (old 3085) including Huthwaite	34 George III. ...	1801	3092	0	34
Sutton Bonnington, S. Ann's...	14 George III. ...	1775	1200	0	0
Sutton Bonnington, S. Michael's	16 George III. ...	1777	800	0	0
Sutton-cum-Lound ...	1775	...	4000	0	0
Syerston	32 George III. ...	1795	500	0	0
Tollerton	43 George III. ...	1806	440	0	0
Torworth	Agreement, 1807...	1808			
Tresswell (41 G. III.) ...	6 & 7 William IV.	1842	567	3	16
Trowell	1787	...	1012	0	0
Tuxford...	39 George III. ...	1804	1700	0	0
Upton	1795	1798	1436	2	8
Walesby, Kirton, Egmanton	2 George IV. ...	1825	894	3	30
Walkeringham	42 George III. ...	1806			
Warsop	58 George III. ...	1825	1779	0	30
Wellow (41 G. III. and 7 W. IV.)	2 & 3 Victoria ...	1842	274	1	28
West Markham... ...	1808				
West Retford	14 George III. ...	1776	876	3	27
Weston	36 George III. ...	1803	1230	0	0
Whatton	1789	...	1700	0	0
Widmerpool	43 George III. ...	1804	1795	1	18
Wilford	5 George III. ...	1766	1100	0	0
Willoughby Wolds ...	33 George III. ...	1799	1700	0	0
Winthorpe	17 George III. ...	1778	329	3	21
Woodborough	35 George III. ...	1798	1000	0	0
Worksop	43 George III. ...	1817			
Wysall	40 George III. ...	1801	1375	1	36

Mr. Lowe gives the following :—

PRIVATE INCLOSURES FROM THE FOREST BORDERS.

		ACRES
In Babworth	Morton Grange, Hon. R. Lumley Savile ...	1080
	Little Morton	600
	G. Mason, Esq. ...	400
	Remainder of Babworth	2000
Blyth Law Hill... ...	C. H. Mellish, Esq. ...	1000
Bilby	late Morgan Vanes, Esq.	260
Scrofton	Robert Sutton, Esq. ...	750
Osberton	F. F. Foljambe, Esq. ...	600
Carburton, etc.	Duke of Portland (600 planted) about ...	2400
Bilsthorpe Commons ...	Hon. R. Lumley Savile	280
Bothamsell	Duke of Newcastle ...	1016
Walesby Warren in Haughton Warren ...	Duke of Newcastle ...	280

Mr. John Parkinson, writing to Sir Richard Sutton, Bart., from Rufford, January 28th, 1794, says: "The late Sir George Savile enclosed the following lands since the year 1776 :—

Ollerton Forest, about	... 500 acres.
Bilsthorpe Clay Fields	... 100 acres.
Bilsthorpe Commons...	... 280 acres.
Morton Grange Forest	... 1080 acres,"

and various other places are mentioned as then still open.

In *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields*, by Mr. Slater, he, after referring to Mr. Lowe's list, suggests the following parishes as having been enclosed without Parliamentary sanction : — Kirklington, Saundby, South Wheatley, Bingham, Car Colston, Selston, Shelton, Cotham, Kneeton, Sibthorpe, together with the hamlets of Ompton, Clipstone, Aslockton, Newton, Oldwork, and Cropwell Butler.—pp. 227-8. Mr. Slater gives the names of other parishes which, however, undoubtedly had Parliamentary sanction.

Mr. Lowe's Report, 1794. The following extracts from a report of over one hundred years ago has a bearing on the cotton trade, agriculture, and wages generally.

In a *General View of Agriculture of the County of Nottingham*, by Robert Lowe, Esq., there are some notes of interest. Mr. Lowe says : "There was always about each forest village a small quantity of land on tillage and pasture ; the rest lay open, common to sheep and cattle of the inhabitants, and the King's deer." The introduction of turnips and artificial grasses was not then one hundred years old, and in this County much later. The Clumber Park and district is described as being then "a new creation within these thirty years," from a black heath, full of rabbits, and a boggy close and a narrow river, to a magnificent mansion, a noble lake and river, with extensive plantations, and two thousand acres of tillage. Newstead, he says, was then all brought into cultivation ; Bestwood Park had nineteen years before been taken on a lease by a Mr. Barton, of Norfolk, who brought a colony of Norfolk labourers. He refers to many rabbit warrens in various parts of the County. Irrigation, or water meadows, had been recently introduced at Clumber, Thoresby, and Carlton, near Worksop. Hops were grown at Rufford, Ollerton, Retford, and Elksley ; about eleven hundred to fourteen hundred acres of them in the County. Many plantations had been made within forty years. Thorney Wood Chase was then well stocked with fallow deer, but the recent inclosures of Lambley and Gedling when completed would reduce the wooded part. Sutton-in-Ashfield was part open, about four thousand acres forest. Kirkby part forest. Selston part open. A great quantity of land had recently been drained. The effect of inclosure of lands had been to greatly increase their value, to increase the population, and to afford much employment. The price of coals had of late greatly increased by the enlarged demand occasioned by the extension of the navigation of the Soar into Leicestershire, but the price had fallen in Nottingham. A great number of hands had been taken off to work at the numerous canals now on foot, but speaking generally, within these two or three years day labour had risen from 1s. to 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d., and work in proportion. Oxen were still used for cultivation in a few places. The Nottingham Canal, when completed, would, with the junction to the Cromford Canal, bring great advantages ; so would the Grantham Canal, not yet finished. The stocking trade is described as the most anciently established trade in the County. Many cotton mills were worked by water, preparing the thread for the Manchester manufacture, and for stockings, eight such mills being in Nottingham, three in Mansfield, six

in Papplewick and Linby, two in Sutton, Radford, Southwell, Fiskerton, Newark, Langwith, Basford, Bulwell, Worksop, Lowdham, Gonalstone, Arnold, Retford, etc. "It is a matter of concern that the manufactures, particularly that of stockings, whilst they increased the population, increased at the same time the burthens of the poor's rate on the occupiers of land, which may be ascribed to the lower manufacturers too frequently spending all their earnings, without looking forward to a time of old age and infirmity." Among the improvements suggested, one is extending water meadows in almost every part of the County; planting large tracts of forest land; hedge row planting of timber; ponds in dry pastures, etc.

Leicester. There are some particulars given for the adjoining county of Leicester not given in the Nottinghamshire report, but probably the values would not differ much. The wages for a servant man were £6 to £12; a lad, £3 to £5; dairy maids from £3 10s. to £5. Labourers, 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day and their board in harvest, with the carriage of a load of coals worth from 14s. to 21s.; the rest of the year, 1s. to 1s. 6d. and beer. Women in harvest earned 8d. a day and their board. Work was from six to six in summer, and in winter from seven to five; two hours a day allowed for meals. A good deal of labour was done by the piece, so that a good labourer expected to earn in harvest 21s., and in winter 15s. per week. "N.B. Many labourers are now called in from other counties, especially since the rage for canals."

Prices:—Beef (prime), 3¾d.; Mutton, 4¼d.; Veal, 4d.; Lamb, 4½d.; Pork, 4½d.; Bacon, 8d.; Cheese, 5d.; Fish very scarce, indifferent and dear; Wheat flour, 2s. 6d. per stone; Fourths, 1s. 10d. per stone; Barley, 42s. a quarter; Oats, 28s. to 34s.; Hay, £5 to £6 10s. a ton; Straw, 50s. to 70s. per ton; Coals at the pit, 4½d. per 112 lbs.

In Lincolnshire wages were 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day. In Derbyshire 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d., and near market towns 1s. 6d. to 2s. Hired servants ten to twelve guineas per year. Women servants four to five guineas.

Notes. A reference to the foregoing report of Mr. Lowe and others will suggest the great advantages derived by farmers through the introduction of artificial grasses and

turnips. It will be seen how much more was expected from water meadows than has been realized. Railway shareholders may consider how much loss the introduction of railways occasioned to canal shareholders. It strikes one as curious to observe how the making of canals disturbed the labour market. The absolute failure of the cotton industry in our County, owing to the cost of carriage and to the introduction of steam, the making of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, etc., is an item of sadness. The increase of wages, the increased price for meat, and coals, and the diminished price of flour, corn, and hay, will be observed.

Value of Money and Prices.

For want of a better place, I append here some suggestions by the late Mr. Robert White, of Worksop, of the value of the purchasing power of money now, as compared with former times.

It is important for a reader when he sees the cost of articles, the rent of lands, or other quotations of money in old histories, to be able to at once translate the figures into modern equivalents. This course is, however, very difficult, because it depends upon the weight and purity of the coin and its monetary value, the value of the commodity sold in relation to the value of other things; and there is another important element—that a price quoted may have been affected by years of scarcity or dearth, or by abundance or scarcity of labour, and so on. The price of wheat, which is the staple food of the people, is usually taken as a kind of standard; but this must be taken over a series of years on purpose to ascertain an average. The following scale has been suggested:—From 1261 to 1400, roughly speaking, multiply by twenty; 1400 to 1450 multiply by twelve, so wages of 1s. a week then would equal 12s. now. From ten to twelve times as much represents the value of 1400 to 1500 as compared with the present day. "In 1145, 20s. of rent was reckoned equal to seven oxen at 3s. each [Mat. Paris]. At the beginning of the 17th century, Spelman compared the wheat of 1266 at 1s. the quarter to that of his own time at 40s. Cautious Bishop Fleetwood found that the purchasing power of £5 between 1440 and 1460 would equal from £28 to £30 in 1707. Mr. C. E. Firth roughly estimates the value of

money [*i.e.*, the purchasing power of the same nominal figures] during the Civil Wars, from about 1648 to 1660, as at least three times what it is now, while Mr. Cordy Jeaffreson reckons it at five times as much in the time of Charles II."—*Mr. R. White.*

CHAPTER LXXIX.

BACK TO THE LAND.

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said:
'This is my own, my native land!'"—*Scott.*

"Back to the Land," is now the cry, and a very proper cry it is, for God Almighty has made the land to be tilled and dressed and kept by man. No occupation is so necessary as this, none is more healthy, none so likely to ensure the good of the State, the welfare of children, the production of contentment, obedience to law, and the love of nature. We have seen the value of land go up, and we have seen it go down; the land subdued and tilled, and then left as a wilderness through neglect; plowed up to grow wheat, and laid down again for permanent pasture; we have read the inscription made by that successful squire and dealer in wool, John Barton, on his "fair stone at Holme," near Newark—

"I thanke God and ever shall
It was the shepe that payed for all,"

and we have known wool not worth growing. The importation of cattle has been encouraged and prohibited.

The breeding of horses was by the introduction of railways considered to be ruined; they afterwards became more valuable than ever; but for the time being motor cars have thrown them into the shade. Agricultural rents have gone down, and rates and wages have gone up; labourers cottages have been pulled down, lest their occupiers should become chargeable to the rates, and now there is a general cry for the building of more modern and better labourers' cottages. The villages have been comparatively deserted, and now there is a

cry, "Back to the Land. Let small holdings be largely increased by the County Authority buying or renting the land, and sub-letting to tenants, thereby developing a large number of peasant occupiers."

Prudence Necessary. Now it is quite clear to a quiet observer that great care and prudence will be required in any such step, if good is to be realized by the class intended to be benefited. In the first place, no general system can with advantage be adopted alike in all places: each locality will differ. There are many localities where there is no demand for small holdings, as the land is unsuitable, or is distant from markets, or otherwise does not appeal to the people. There are others where the landowner is prepared to adopt, adapt, and supply any reasonable demand. It is not at all clear that the County Council or the municipality will be better landlords or lessees than the individual landowners; the present practice of letting by municipalities in some places is not encouraging, if existing tenants are to be believed. Nor is it clear that a small holder who has to pay off his principal by instalments, with interest on the capital outlay, or to provide his own building extensions, and do his own repairs, will be any better off than existing tenants now are. The sense of security is an undoubted advantage, and a feeling of ownership is a valuable national asset, tending to responsibility, prudence, order, thrift, and many other virtues, and therefore to be encouraged; but all these must *grow*, not be created; must rise, indeed do now rise, by individual effort, and not by parliamentary enactment. Parliament can with advantage do little more than remove the obstacles to reasonable arrangements between landowners and tenants; make the transfer of land simple and cheap; sanction long leases and arrangements for the division of land, and payment by instalments with security, without the risk of sudden and harsh forfeiture. Compulsory powers may in certain extreme cases be necessary, but a long and unusually varied experience convinces me that a resort thereto would very seldom result in the interests of, or be satisfactory to intending purchasers or occupiers.

The Duke of Portland. The Duke of Portland has in our colliery villages encouraged allotments, having devoted odd fields in each part of a parish, so as to be near the homes of the people—in Hucknall Torkard, Sutton, and Kirkby, for instance, and these have been of great benefit

to the holders because there is security of tenure, accessibility, in many cases water, and a reasonable rent, with suitability of soil. The Duke has also "three acres and a cow" in agricultural villages, to the great advantage of widows and of large families, who can render or readily obtain partial help, but the Duke tells us that an experiment of letting a farm of four-hundred and eighty acres at Gringley-on-the-Hill to six labourers, the Duke finding the capital for tenant-right, live and dead stock, at small interest and moderate rental, had after fifteen years trial to be given up, and proved to be disastrous to both landlord and tenants, a result that long experience and observation would lead one to expect. Co-operative farms are of no use. Energy and self-reliance are weakened in such efforts. I know a brickmaker who carries off the prizes in a wholesale manner at chrysanthemum shows, but he gets up at two o'clock in the morning, if necessary, in frosty weather to protect his flowers, and he nurses them and frames them as pets, but he would not do this in a co-operative tenancy. By all means let us have co-operation in the buying of manures and food stuffs, in the obtaining and using of the best implements and tools, in securing the best Shire horses, bulls, rams, boars and pedigree stock; in the sale of produce of all kinds placing the producer and consumer in direct contact; in obtaining reasonable rates from Railway Companies and combined cartage; in united experiments in every parish or district conducted on scientific and business-like lines, but in the growth of things, and in personal management, everything depends on the individual man.

Nottingham Gardens.

The Corporation of Nottingham has for two or three hundred years past let a part of its land for allotment gardens, usually of about six hundred yards each. These are fenced round, and having a good security of tenure there has grown up a system whereby the tenant has felt justified in not only planting all kinds of fruit trees, flowers and vegetables, but has also built a greenhouse, or a summerhouse, where he could with his wife and family have a cup of tea. The tenancy is usually transferred to any respectable nominee, and the consideration for such transfer is the value of the building, and growing crops, ranging from £1 to even £50. There is a scale for compensation in case of disturbance. This system has worked for the good of the people. Competition is developed for the production of the best articles; shows are common. Sobriety is

encouraged, and good taste promoted by gardening, and the love of flowers. There are, however, evils in connection with public house shows.

The Corporation of Nottingham has about one thousand three hundred and fifty of these gardens. The Duke of Newcastle has about four hundred. On the Gregory Estates there are about eight hundred, but part of these are let in the bulk to the Corporation, and by them sublet. Earl Manvers and various other owners have allotment gardens, and nearly all these are on the outskirts of the city.

A number of Land Societies have been formed for the purchase of allotment gardens by instalments extending over nine or ten years. The Porchester is the principal of these schemes. There one hundred and thirty acres were divided into eight hundred gardens, and in many of these there are now houses. All these societies are managed by committees elected by the members, and governed by rules which they adopt. Usually the rules provide for only one or two houses being erected on one lot, and require that the value shall be £150 or more each house. The rules prohibit noxious trades, and invariably forbid a license for the sale of intoxicating liquors. Altogether there are over two thousand of these proprietary allotments, nearly all of them being immediately outside the city boundary. The total of the several classes of gardens thus defined is over five thousand. The effect is good, and to be encouraged.

Dean Hole, in his *Book about Roses*, has a charming chapter on the Nottingham allotment gardens, and the roses grown in them of exquisite beauty, some of them the best he had ever seen, developed by constant care and loving attention of artizans, who told him they managed to get them by keeping away from the beer-shops. "Get a man," adds the Dean, "out of the dram and beer shops into the fresh pure air; interest him in the marvellous works of his God, instead of in the deformities of vice; give him an occupation which will add to his health and the comfort of his family, instead of destroying both; then build revealed upon natural religion, and hope to see that man a Christian." He urges the necessity of shows and annual exhibitions, in order to stimulate interest and competition.

By the bye, why have those rose shows been of late years discontinued?

Co-operative Credit Societies. Co-operative Credit Societies at work in the United Kingdom are combinations of small farmers, labourers, and artizans, formed for the purpose of raising capital to be advanced at a reasonable rate of interest to members requiring temporary loans, for the purpose of reproductive undertakings, such as the purchase of pigs, poultry, a cow, etc , and thereby such men as labourers have been enabled to make additions to their incomes. There are 238 of such Societies making returns, having 18,288 members, with a total capital of £130,061. They advanced in 1906 £77,629. £65,443 was during the year repaid. The total expenses of the 238 Societies was £5,157, and they made a profit of £825. Such Societies are helpful to poor men to make a start on the land.

A New Lesson. There is now a genuine desire on the part of a number of persons to obtain small holdings and allotments. That desire ought to be encouraged. Some of the applicants are in every way suitable to work and stock the land. No one system will suit all localities and persons. In some cases the land may be purchased, and in others rented. Some persons cannot afford to purchase, nor is the land to be had by purchase. In some cases the cultivation may be side by side in a joint field ; in others separate. Some pasturage may be joint, with defined arrangements. The circumstances on the western side of our County, with its coal and big populations, are different to the purely agricultural parishes on the east ; the pastoral Trent valley villages, to the strong clay, or light sand ones ; the nearness or remoteness to a market must be taken into account, as must also limited ownerships, and many other items ; but there are no circumstances that ought to deter Parliament and the County Council from devising and carrying out a system with great variety and adaptation, such as will tend to help hard-working, persevering, and thrifty people getting on to the land, and spending their energies in their own villages for the benefit of their families and the common good.

Peasant Proprietors. The creation of a large class of peasant proprietors in Nottinghamshire, while highly desirable, is at present impracticable. Nothing would better tend to health and security. Few men will be lawless when they have something to lose. The revival of trades in our villages by men being one part of a day working on the land, and another part trading or working at some

handicraft, would be good. The value of land would thereby be increased, as would be the production of home grown foods. But if the scheme involved the buying of land at—say £30 or £50 an acre, and the erection of a house and buildings thereupon, the interest on such outlay would be greater than the rents now paid in a number of our villages, and to this must be added the cost of repairs, now generally borne by landlords.

When, however, the cost of land and buildings is borrowed at a low rate of interest, and the term for repayment is a very extended one, the additional burden is comparatively lightened. Lord Carrington says that a good house and necessary buildings can be provided at an extra cost of 5s. 6d. per acre rent, and that this amount is sufficient to pay interest at four per cent. on the total outlay. I hope his lordship is correct, but I should like to see the sum worked out as to cost, area, and terms.

All our villages are not in the position of having a good old-fashioned aristocratic landlord. There are in some parishes men who want land and cannot get it, either to buy or to hire. A way must be found whereby a poor man with energy, capability, and perseverance, may be able to be attached to our soil. The demand may not be great, but it must from time to time be met as occasion may offer.

Farmers poor. The returns of farming are, owing to foreign competition, so poor that the difficulty ought in some way to be met. How this is to be done requires a wiser head than mine. There was recently imposed a tax of one shilling per quarter on corn and flour imported into the United Kingdom, but that was for political reasons removed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that "the net revenue obtained from the duty on corn, etc., during the twelve months ended 30th June, 1903, was £1,876,664, and of this sum it is estimated that £1,565,076 was derived from corn, etc., imported from foreign countries. The average contribution per head of the population of the United Kingdom towards the revenue obtained from imported foreign corn, etc., during this period is thus 8·86d."—say 9d. for the year, or less than a farthing per week. Others advocate that the relief should come by the still further reduction of the rating on agricultural lands. The demands of modern civilization in regard to schools, police, sanitation, roads, etc., are such that the people, not the land, ought to bear the cost.

"There's a good time coming," even for agriculture, but it will be largely brought about by improved methods of cultivation, by science joining hand with experience, by the farmer knowing every part of his work, and how best and cheapest to do it, what cattle to produce, and how best to feed them. The days of dulness, inactivity, unwillingness to change, and prejudice, are gone, and the days are come for skill, enterprize, the best manures, the finest seed, the best cattle, co-operative effort, and all those qualities that make a man a credit to a place, and that ensure success.

CHAPTER LXXX.

INNS AND DRINKING.

"For he schal be greet bifor the Lord ; and he schal not drynke wyn and sidir."—*Wycliffe's version.*

Diodorus, writing of the ancient Britons before Christ, notes the simplicity of their manners, and their being satisfied with a frugal sustenance, and avoiding the luxuries of wealth. "Their diet was simple ; their food consisted chiefly of milk and venison. Their ordinary drink was water. Upon extraordinary occasions they drank a kind of fermented liquor made of barley, honey, or apples, and when intoxicated they never fail to quarrel." The Romans brought wine and other luxuries, and Queen Boadicea (A.D. 61), making ready for battle, appeals in an impassioned speech to the hearts of her troops, and says : "To us every herb and root are food, every juice is our oil, and water is our wine."

In this Chapter I make a number of quotations from *Nineteen Centuries of Drinking*, by Dr. R. L. French.

British. The British historian, Gildas, of Glastonbury, tells the story of the struggle between the ancient inhabitants and the new comers, the Saxons, in the year 540, and how the Welsh chieftains who went into battle were intemperate and unchaste, and thus caused the ruin of Britain, being defeated by the Saxons near the Scottish border. Of the three hundred and fifty chiefs who fought, it is said—though I cannot find the authority—only three escaped to tell the tale of the defeat and its cause.

Saxons. The Saxons were hard drinkers. The King and his nobles would frequently, even at Christian festivals, drink for several days together, and, of course, the common people would imitate those who for some very doubtful reason are called "their betters."

Danes. The Danes, at their religious ceremonies, drank immoderately. When Ethelred was King, a Danish settler sent a message inviting Sweyn, the Dane, to come to England. "In this he lures him by describing the country as rich and fertile, the King a driveller, wholly given up to wine, etc., hateful to his own people, and contemptible to foreigners." Under such a King we cannot wonder at the Danes plundering at will.

Normans. When the Normans invaded our country "Harold's English forces spent the night before the battle in drinking and singing; the Normans spent their night in listening to the religious exhortations of the bishops and other clergy, and in prayer and confession of their sins."—*Rev. J. Standish.*

The life of the second William the Norman shows the coarsening and depraving effect of obtaining by the conquest plunder that was not theirs. In his reign excess and sensuality prevailed among the nobility as everywhere unchecked, and well nigh unrebuked. The King "met with his tragical end in New Forest, after he had soothed his cares with a more than usual quantity of wine."

When Edward I. returned from the Holy Land, it is said the very conduits in the streets ran with wine.

"Thus the King, outleaping the limits of his law,
Not reigning, but raging, as youth did him entice,
Wise and worthy persons from court did daily draw,
Sage counsel set at naught, proud vaunters were in price
And roisters bear the rule, which wasted all in vice;
Of riot and excess grew scarcity and lack,
Of lacking came taxing, and so went wealth to rack."
—From *The Fall of Robert Trevylian*, 1388.

Stoke Battle. Deering, giving a quotation from an anonymous author referring to the forces at East Stoke, who were defeated in the battle in 1487, says they "flattered themselves with the deceived hope of succeeding victory; in jollity whereof, like the foolish Trojans, they so

frolicked and drank all night as the next morning great numbers of them were unfit for the service in hand, many of them following the main army in scattered troops, and some scarce came out of Newark when the battle was formed at Stoke."—p. 246.

Hospitals. In monastic times the monasteries were the inns of our County. We must distinguish between the inns and the alehouses. The latter were, and are, for drinking purposes chiefly; the inns, or hotels as we now call them, were for the rest and refreshment of travellers. Those persons who could afford it doubtless made donations for the good of the house, and the poor were dealt with on the principle of charity. As time passed on the monks developed the idea of a hospital, either as a house on the outskirts of the monastic buildings, or as a separate institution, where there would be either a temporary or permanent house of rest for travellers, and these would have chapels with shrines for religious purposes, such as thanking God for past dangers escaped, or for vows in starting a risky expedition. These hospitals, or resting places, became the more necessary as pilgrimages to the shrines of some favourite saint were encouraged, or to some cathedral, such as, with us, in early times to York, and afterwards to Southwell.

Old Inns. In *Some Old English Inns* it is stated that The Saracen's Head, at Newark, has deeds of transfer from the remote reign of Edward III. (1327-1377). The first quotation in the earliest deed reads: "A Release from William Burnach of The Saracen's Head; fourteenth of Edward III. [1341]." The second document reads: "A deed of feoffment of the part of the said Inn," and it is dated "22nd of Richard II. [1399]." Other deeds of transfer bring the history of the inn down to its ownership by Henry, Duke of Newcastle.

In *The History of Blyth*, by the Rev. Jas. Raine, referring to one of the great roads from London to the north going through the village, he says: "I present my readers with an account of expenses at The Angel Inn, Blyth, in 1274. In that year Robert de Insula, newly elected Bishop of Durham, went to London in company with the Prior of Durham, Richard Claxton, in order to obtain an interview with the King. They returned in October by way of Blyth; and here is their bill at the inn: 'In pane [for bread], 10s.; in cervisia et vino [for ale and wine], 33s. 5d.; in coquinā [for

kitchen food], 27s. 5½d. ; in prebendā, feno et literā [for provender, hay and litter for their horses], 18s. 9d.' If this sum be multiplied by twenty—the probable difference between the then and present value of money, it will indicate either a great retinue or substantial charges.

The Saracen's Head, at Southwell, claims that by a deed bearing date 20th October, 1396 (19 Richard II.), the Archbishop of York conveyed to John Fysher and to Margaret, his wife, "a chief Inn now and long since called The Saracen's Head." Some of the Nottingham public houses claim very ancient dates, in which a good deal has to be assumed. Thus The Trip to Jerusalem puts on its signboard 1199, the year when the great Crusader died and John ascended the throne. The Salutation Inn claims to date from 1280, The Talbot from 1380. Mr. W. Stevenson suggests that the latter may have had some connection with the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury. The Crowne and The Ramme, two inns on the north side of Nottingham Market Place, are referred to in the Borough Records in 1483, but these were recently pulled down for the King and Queen Street improvements. Mr. Stevenson mentions The Flying Horse under date of 1392.

In *The History of Newark*, Mr. Brown says: "There is a reference to The Angel as far back as 1471." The White Hart, he says, must have been standing in 1413. "The Talbot was referred to in a deed dated 1341," "and The Cardinal's Hat, at which a meeting took place in 1494 between the civic fathers of Nottingham and Lincoln on the vexed question of tolls."

Drunkenness. William Kethe, preaching in 1570, says, speaking of Sunday, "which holy day the multitude call their revelying day ; which day is spent in bul-beatings, beare-beatings, bowlings, dicyng, cardying, daunsynges, drunkenness, and whoredome."

Writing of weddings in the sixteenth century an author observes: "Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to exceed in superfluous eatyng and drinkyng, and when they come to the preachynge they are halfe droncke, some all together."

"It was about 1550 that the pernicious habit arose of transacting business over drink."—*French.* "The taverns were some of them kept by the clergy. Bishop Burnet states that so pillaged were the ecclesiastics of their property that

many clergymen were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or tailors, and some kept alehouses."

"Hitherto there had been no legislation whatever against drunkenness. The crime is not mentioned in the Statute Book till the fifth year of Edward VI. From this time we shall find a number of statutes framed for the purpose of its prevention or punishment."

The Act 5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 25, because of the intolerable hurts, and troubles, abuses, and disorders, in common alehouses authorized Justices to close them at their discretion.

The Use of Inns. The preamble to an Act passed in 1604 shows the ancient use of inns: "Whereas the ancient, true, and principal use of wine, ale-houses, and victualling houses was for the receipt relief and lodging of wayfaring people travelling from place to place, and for the supply of the wants of such people as are not able by greater quantities to make their provision of victuals; and not meant for entertainment and harbouring of lewd and idle people to spend and consume their money and time in lewd and drunken manner." The value of this preamble seems to be that it suggests several valuable ways of lessening drunkenness; one that public houses ought not to be mere drinking places—everyone of them ought to be required to cook and sell victuals, and the other is that idleness, lewdness, and drunkenness ought to be repressed by force and punishment.

Gin Act. It will be wearisome to wade through all the evils and attempts at correction made through the centuries. We must, however, notice the terrible outbreak that occurred about 1724, when the passion for gin-drinking infected the masses, and spread with the violence of an epidemic. In 1736, an Act was passed to restrain it, but it was too sudden and severe in its operations, and was evaded. Within two years twelve thousand persons had been convicted of offences against it, and in 1743 the provisions were relaxed.

Modern Drinking. Lord Byron wrote the following epitaph on a carrier who died of drunkenness:—

"John Adams lies here of the parish of Southwell,
A *carrier* who *carried* his can to his mouth well;
He *carried* so much and he *carried* so fast,
He could *carry* no more, so was *carried* at last;
For the liquor he drank, being too much for one,
He could not *carry off*, so he's now *carrion*."

There was a song in appreciation of drink written by a Mr. Gunthorpe, a naval officer, a native of Nottingham, which was much sung a hundred years ago, and the chorus of which was :—

"Nottingham Ale, boys, Nottingham Ale!
No liquor on earth like Nottingham Ale!"

But the sentiment of the song was not good, and its declaration that

"Experience will show it, nought makes a good poet,
Like *quantum sufficet* of Nottingham Ale"

has been given the lie to by the early deaths of the local poets whose poetry (?) depended on the inspiration of drink, and who are now forgotten.

A Discovery. And now, after two thousand years of floundering and fooling over the virtues of intoxicating liquors, we have discovered that they can be entirely dispensed with without injury to health ; that as water is best for flowers and trees, birds and asses, so it is also best for man. Science has revealed to us that the amount of nutriment in alcoholic beverages is infinitesimally small as compared with other foods, giving the minimum of advantage at the maximum of cost. We now find that the effects of stimulating liquors continue only for a short time, and leave a greater reaction than the previous benefit, thus making it that the ordinary habit of using stimulants is injurious to the health. The sixty years' experience of the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution, as given by Sir Thomas Whittaker in *Alcoholic Beverages and Longevity*, is thus indicated : "It will be observed that during the strenuous working years of manhood, from twenty-five to sixty years of age, the annual mortality rates among abstainers were, on the average, forty per cent. lower than among the non-abstainers. That is an enormous difference." —p. 12. And again : "These figures mean that out of one hundred thousand persons alive at thirty years of age in the Temperance and General sections respectively, something like eleven thousand two hundred and seven more abstainers than non-abstainers would be alive at seventy years of age."—p. 17. If this be so, then the money spent on alcoholic drinks is thrown away, or worse, unless it be that drink stimulates pleasurable enjoyment, and there come thousands of people who have not resorted to drinking in order to increase their pleasures who tell us that they enjoy life better without

stimulants than with them, and that the simple life of good food, fresh air, exercise, and quietness, is better than all the aids of the bowl, the decanter, and the sparkling glass. A thousand years to learn a lesson seems awfully slow work, but now we know the joint testimony of science, experience and observation, for every animal and bird, tree and flower, say "Water is best."

The United Kingdom Band of Hope Union is doing a good work in sending trained teachers throughout the country to give scientific lectures in the schools on the nature and properties of alcohol. Such lessons and lectures are welcomed by the Board of Education, and by local Authorities, and ought to be given in every school. Great advantages will follow if the children are taught to assess drinks at their true value.

Dr. John Higginbottom. Locally we owe much in respect to the nature and properties of intoxicants to the teaching of the late Dr. Higginbottom. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society — I believe the only one then in the locality—which honour was conferred upon him for essays "On the Influence of Physical Agents in the Development of the Tadpole, of the Triton, and the Frog" (published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society), and "On the use of Nitrate of Silver in the cure of Inflammation, Wounds, and Ulcers, etc." He was a man of profound faith in both science and revealed religion. In the days when alcohol was regarded as a necessity of life, and as being both a food and a medicine, he taught that it was neither, and in a sixty years practice in Nottingham as a surgeon he never administered or recommended it. He was two generations ahead of his medical brethren in this respect. He died on April 7th, 1876, at the ripe age of eighty-seven years.

Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, himself a Fellow of the Royal Society, in his *Vita Medica: Chapters of Medical Life and Work*, introduces Mr. Higginbottom as being present at a meeting of medical men in a large hall in Birmingham. "Who's that?" "Ah! that's the well known Higginbottom of Nottingham." "What has he done to make everybody so shy of him?" "Nothing whatever, I assure you," replied Hastings: "He is one of the best practitioners in England; has made quite a notable use of nitrate of silver in medicine; is a man of true science; a Fellow of the Royal Society, and

strictly honourable in all his proceedings; but unfortunately, he has a 'bee in his bonnet'—he denounces wine and all alcoholic drinks, and is himself a 'total abstainer.'"

Reflecting on what he had seen and how he had heard Higginbottom denounced for his strange opinions, Sir Benjamin adds: "I had seen a pilgrim father; a man who feared God, eschewed evil, and who would have been ready to meet the rack or the fire, as he was to meet the assembly through which he had passed, and I give this memory of him as sincerely as I hope any future pen may write it. But at the moment the scene had no telling effect upon me; the man, I thought, really had a 'bee in his bonnet;' he must be wrong, and the majority, because it was a majority, must be right."—p. 359. He (Sir Benjamin), however, deemed it to be his business to investigate the results of the use of alcohol, and here is the record, at the end of his life, for he died before the last proofs were revised: "At last alcohol, even as a remedy, has ceased to retain influential sway, either as a food or as a medicine" (p. 375).

The experience of medical men in Nottingham indicates that the desire and power of the appetite for strong drink may be conquered when an intemperate person desires to overcome it, by injections under the skin, as well as by administration through the mouth, of certain drugs; this must, however, be accompanied by the earnest desire of the patient for deliverance from the power of the appetite. A diet consisting largely of whole-meal and fruit, without meat, is said to be useful.

Unfortunately we have the great fact we must recognise that the majority of us are governed, not by a knowledge of science, or the exercise of common sense, but by custom, appetite, sentiment, and many other ways. The question we ask ourselves is not, What is the best for me? and the statement, "I like it," is unanswerable. We must, therefore, take wisdom to the young by our Bands of Hope growing up living plants strong enough to stand against prevailing winds. Meanwhile, as we cannot stop drinking, which is the cause of drunkenness, let us see if it is possible to lessen drunkenness.

Drunkenness. One way to lesson drunkenness would be to compulsorily lessen the strength of stout and beer, and in order to encourage this to adapt the duties in some such form as to increase them by one-half on strong

beers, and halve them on light beers. On the continent men drink beer, but you do not see half the drunkenness to be seen in our towns and colliery villages. They go with their wives and children to the gardens, and have tea, or coffee, or beer, or other drinks, and sit and chat without the sad degradation we have, and certainly one reason is that the quality of the beer used is lighter and therefore much less intoxicating, so that a man would have to drink a large quantity—several times more than such as is commonly sold in our public houses—before he became drunk. It would be possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to devise a scale of duties adapted to encourage the sale of light beers and discourage the sale of heavy ones, so that the Exchequer would not suffer, although that is a minor matter when the interests of the sobriety of the people are concerned. And if a brewer found that the lighter the beers the lighter the duties, it would at once become his interest to produce and sell that upon which he had the less duty to pay; and so far as the drinker is concerned he would know that heavy porter or beer had double duty to pay, and therefore his price must be increased, while the light beer man would be glad of a reduction in its cost. Of course it would be better if men would do without beer, but they will not, and you cannot either persuade them or make them, therefore a wise course seems to be to make the most harmful drink the most expensive, and the least harmful the cheapest.

Why do we not make a dead set at drunkenness pure and simple? Now an offender to be convicted has (except in an open place) to be charged with, in addition to drunkenness, incapability, disorderliness, or some other secondary offence or action. But the drunkenness is the danger to society, and the curse of the family. Why attack the publican and leave the offender alone? Let us try for five years an experiment something like this: for the first conviction for drunkenness 5/-, or 10/- and costs; for the second, double; for the third, seven days imprisonment without the option of a fine; for the fourth, insertion in a black list; for the fifth and succeeding charges, deprival for a year of votes for both local and parliamentary elections, and a notice warning people against selling or giving drink to the offender, and the drunkard's monetary matters, whether wages or property, to be put in the power or surveillance of a trustee, whether the wife, or employer, or a public functionary. By some such course drunkenness, which is the mother of many mischiefs, would be lessened one-half.

Victuallers. I must confess I should like to see the cooking and sale of victuals by every licensed victualler made a reality and not a sham. Intoxicating liquors would not do nearly so much harm if taken along with food.

At the time of writing this article a Licensing Bill is before Parliament. Some months will pass before the issue of the book of which this article forms part. The situation may then be materially changed; I therefore abstain from comments on the merits or demerits of the Bill. The great principles that ought to guide us apparently should be:—(1) Drunkenness must, as far as is practicable, at whatever cost, be got rid of. (2) We cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament, but we may lessen temptation, and put obstacles in the way of excess. (3) For this purpose legislation is necessary. (4) While seeking to remove one evil we must not create another—injustice must not be done, nor action be too hasty. Reasonable terms must be defined. (5) Off-licences ought to be regulated as well as public houses. (6) Clubs ought to pay a similar licence fee to public houses, be open to inspection, and the hours subject to limitation. (7) All interests must be subject to the public good.

It will be a mistake to suppose that public houses are about to be done away with. Purified, they will be more generally appreciated than ever. The social habits of the people are widening, and when a man can take his wife and children to the public house for refreshments and pastimes he will do so. In another direction the servant difficulty is increasing, and may still further increase, so that the middle-class family will go and dine at a neighbouring hotel, instead of having the cooking and waiting at home. The public house of the future will be a house of lodging, of refreshment, of recreation and social intercourse, and not a house mainly for the drinking of intoxicants.

> "Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood,
> Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
> The means of weakness and debility;
> Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
> Frosty, but kindly."
>
> —Shakespeare's *As You Like It.*

CHAPTER LXXXI.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

While work and rest are necessities of life, recreation is also desirable. Without work man cannot live, for an empty stomach brooks no denial; without rest he cannot continue to work, but all work and no play has the proverbial result of dulness, depression, and tends to make a man a mere beast of burden. Recreation, when it is active, may take the form of sport, when passive, it may consist in a mere pastime. With adults a change of occupation may, when the object is not for gain, become a recreation. Occupation, as distinguished from work and rest should, so far as practicable, have for its object recreation, or, in other words, the recruiting the powers of the body and mind. If this can be secured in the open air, so much the better, and the next best is in well-ventilated rooms.

A great art is learned when we can properly assess the right amount of time and attention to be devoted to work and rest on the one hand, and to sports or pastimes on the other. For while excess of work makes a man a slave, and excess of rest makes him a sluggard or a lout, excess of attention to sports and pastimes tends to poverty and uselessness of life. In food a little gingerbread or spiced variety is enjoyable, condiments give a relish, the beef tastes the better for the mustard, but if a man tries to live on gingerbread, or mustard, or condiments, the stomach will soon rebel. A young fellow who can talk of nothing but football, or sport of whatever form, will be useless as a workman; he may say "goodbye" to skill or good workmanship; he is ill-balanced, and will fall, for work and its skilful execution must have the first attention, and even recreation must be subordinate, while sport must take a still lower ground.

The highest form of civilisation is attained when recreation takes the form of promoting the happiness of others. And when the work is done, and done well, then let us have the exhilarating romp, with the expanded chest and the quicker circulation arising from some national sport, and when the curtain of evening is drawn, let us have the restful pastime in the home, followed by "tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep."

Hunting. Hunting is described as being the oldest sport in in the world, though of old, men killed for the supply of their necessary food; before either cooking or eating he must catch his hare, or whatever wild animal he wanted for food. Asser assures us that Alfred the Great as a boy "was a most expert and active hunter, and excelled in all branches of that most noble art." The forest laws made by our Norman kings, and applied in Sherwood Forest with rigour, show the interest they took in the chase, however selfish it might be. The fox has become the chief object of hunting sport, and Melton Mowbray, which is six miles from our south-eastern boundary, is now accounted the head-quarters of the sport, and it is said the visitors spend £100,000 a year there, the Quorn Hounds, (so-called from Quorndon Hall, where Mr. Meynell, the master, formerly resided) "being the foremost pack of foxhounds in England." Lord Harrington's, or the South Notts. Hounds, whose kennels are at Gedling, hunt in one part of the county, and Lord Manvers' Rufford Hounds, and Lord Fitzwilliam's Grove Hounds hunt the Northern part.

Falconry. Falconry was a favourite sport, consisting chiefly in the art of training and flying hawks for the purpose of catching other birds. The office of Master of Hawks was granted by Letters Patent of James II. to the Duke of St. Albans, at a stipend of £965, and was continued down to 1890, when, on the 15th July, this £965 was commuted at nineteen years' purchase (£18,335). According to Lodge's *Peerage*, the office is still in existence. It is usually described as "Hereditary Grand Falconer."

Archery. Archery (1066 to 1688). From the remotest times Archery was practised by all nations, and the long bow was used by the Normans at the battle of Hastings, and afterwards, with deadly effect. Under the Plantagenets and Tudors, there were many and urgent commands and laws requiring every man under sixty years of age, not being an ecclesiastic or a member of the legal profession, to practise with the long bow. Butts were provided to the south of Park Row, in Nottingham, and in many of the villages of our County, and were required to be used at holiday times, and on Sunday afternoons. On the south side of churches yew trees were planted, so as to grow branches to form bows. Firearms superseded Archery, except as a means of exercise and recreation. Robin Hood's shooting was

perfection, and Edward IV. ordained that every man should have a bow of his own height.

Bull Rings. The constitutions for the Mayor and Corporation of Nottingham about the time of Henry VII. (1485-1509) provide, among other matters:—"Item the said Mayre for (the) time being, is lykewise to give them (his brethren) knowledge of every bere baityng and bull baiting within the town to see the Sport of the game after the old custom and usage."

It thus appears that the bull baiting was a public function under the control of the Mayor. The Mickletorn Jury, whose business it was to inspect and report all nuisances and neglects in public places, in 1640 reported, "We request the bullringe may either be repayred or taken down;" and the Order of the Court was "Repayred." In 1691 the Council ordered:—"It's this day ordered yat ye Rails about ye bull Ring be taken up and part of yem set downe before Thomas Alveys doore."

Deering, in 1751, writes:—"The butchers in times past, whenever they had a mind to kill a bull, they were obliged first to bait him in the Market-place, for which purpose there used to be a ring fixed in the ground, and Mrs. Mayoress was to find a rope, for which she has the consideration of one shilling, of every one who takes up his freedom of the Town. At this time the bull-baiting is disused, and instead of it the butchers pay to the Lady of the Mayor 3s. 4d., called Pin-money for every bull they kill."

There are said to have been bull rings in Nottingham behind the Leather Bottle, a famous public-house which stood at the bottom of Hockley, and in Burton Leys, which was the field where Trinity Church and the Guildhall now stand.

Two hundred years ago there was, at Worksop, a Bull Ring, for a bye-law of the Court Baron of the Lord of the Manor said, "No bull shall be killed and sold in the Market at Worksop without having been first baited in the bull ring." —*White.*

A relic of the bull fights is in Newark Market Place, where there is a stone and a ring. At Balderton there is a place called the Bull Ring.

By 5 and 6 William IV., in 1835 bull-baiting and cock-fighting were made illegal. The Act declared that:—"Any

person keeping or using any house, pit, or other place, for baiting or fighting any bull, bear, dog, or other animal (whether of a domestic or wild kind), or for cock-fighting, shall be liable to a penalty of £5 for every day he shall so keep or use the same."

In 1802 an effort was made to abolish bull-baiting, but the bill for its abolition was rejected. "We must remember that a high stage of culture and refinement must be attained before nations will consent to abandon cruel and dangerous contests between men and brutes, or between beasts." With regard to bull-fighting in Spain, Mr. Gallichan says:—"It would seem that a long training in warfare, the effect of harsh rule, and the terrible example of the Inquisition, form a trinity of evil that has made the mass of the Spanish people indifferent to the spectacle of certain kinds of pain." It is a pleasure to find that the public sentiment long preceded the law in the condemnation of a brutal sport, the degrading nature of which is now seen in Spain. where the people clamour for blood—it matters little whether of bull, or horse, or dog, or man—blood they must see.

Pugilism. Pugilism was not originally prize-fighting, nor was it reduced to what is now called a science, but was the unarmed method of determining superior strength, courage, or power of endurance. Hereward-the-Wake and Richard Cœur-de-Lion are both credited with a readiness for attack of this sort. Our latest contribution to this brutal sport was about sixty years ago, between Ben Caunt of Hucknall, and Bendigo; but Caunt became a London publican, and died early, and Bendigo became converted, and accompanied Jemmy Dupe in out-door preaching gatherings.

Horse Racing. Horse Racing was, and is, apart from the accursed betting and trickery often connected with it, an agreeable sport. King Athelstan, in Anglo-Saxon times, "made a present of a number of running horses equipped with saddles and bridles." Among the amusements of Henry VIII., horse racing held its place. The Nottingham Race Course, on the Forest, was formerly four miles in extent, reaching to Old Radford. The Grand Stand was erected in 1777. The Corporation, in 1891, resolved not to appoint a Race Committee, and thereupon the races ceased on the Forest, and the promoters purchased Colwick Park, and carry on the races there.

Wrestling. Wrestling was, two hundred years ago, one of the games annually performed at Bunny. Sir Thomas Parkyns, who died in 1741, aged seventy-eight, wrote a book on the art. He was a skilled athlete, and studied physic for the benefit of his neighbours. He would wrestle with an antagonist, and, if beaten, take him into his service. On his monument in Bunny Church he is depicted in his wrestling dress. "Whoever would be a complete wrestler," he wrote, "must avoid being overtaken in drink, which very much enervates." The games were kept up at Bunny until one hundred years ago.

Skittles and Quoits. Skittles or Quoits were the accessory of nearly all public houses until a few years ago. When the crocuses were growing in Nottingham Meadows, one of the few houses in the fields was called 'The Quoit House," by the footpath to Trent Bridge, for there quoits were usually played. In 1467 the Jurors on the eastern side of Nottingham presented several men who "played at an unlawful and prohibited game called quoiting, unlawfully." The games of tennis, football, quoits, dice, casting the stone, kailes, and the like were, by several enactments, "prohibited to serving-men and labourers, they being enjoined to practise archery instead of playing at these games."—*Nottingham B. R.*, V. II., p. 217.

Ball Playing. Ball playing has always been a favourite game in varied forms, and with many names. Golf came with James I., but it does not seem to have taken hold in our County until quite recently, so its votaries are making up in ardour what was lost in time. Shinney, or Shindy, or Shinty has from time immemorial been locally played. This is now usually called Hockey. Tennis was played in the days of Henry VII., but Lawn Tennis is modern. "Shuttlecock and Battledore, now a child's game, was a fashionable pastime among grown persons in the reign of James I."

Football. Football is another form of ball playing, and was prohibited in 1349, "because it diverted time and attention from the more martial, useful, and patriotic exercises of those feudal times." The Greeks had a somewhat similar game; so had the Romans, but played by hand.

On Shrove Tuesday, or Pancake Day, this was a popular amusement. It is now the most popular amusement in our

City and County, for thousands flock to Trent Bridge, or to the Forest Ground, to see the sport played by others instead of themselves, and with the one desire to see their own favourite side win.

Cricket. "In the early days of the championship, still remembered by many with feelings of proud satisfaction, Notts. figured more frequently at the head of the lists than any of their compeers," so says a *Guardian* report, reviewing the Notts. season of 1907, and adds "Notts. have won more matches this year than in any other season of the club's long and brilliant history," the record being nineteen matches played, fifteen won, lost none, drawn four, the result being the championship of all England. So *Truth* sang:—

"Hail to the men of the county of lace,
Who've won by their prowess the champions place."

Mr. A. W. Shelton has published *Bat v. Ball*, from 1864 to 1900, the book of individual cricket records, compiled by J. H. Lester, at a popular price. The scores of W. G. Grace, of fifty runs and upwards, occupy more than six pages, one hundred and twenty of them being centuries. The ever-green "W. G." I remember in 1866 being spoken of as the coming man who would show that sport of good form could be had without stimulating drinks. Locally A. Shrewsbury has one hundred and fifty-five scores of fifty runs and upwards, fifty-three of them being centuries, and W. Gunn one hundred and forty-six, with thirty-nine centuries. The record of the births and deaths of cricketers given in this book gives items of interest as to many of our local men who have joined the great majority. It is a matter for congratulation that cricket has not been contaminated with the curse of betting, and it has been encouraged by those who have had the training of lads, because it taught them to be manly, to "play the game," to co-operate with one another, to be accurate, quick in observation, action, and self-reliance.

The first recorded local match in the Nottingham Date Book was in 1771 between Nottingham and Sheffield, and was in a field north of the race course. There was a match in the Meadows for one thousand guineas, in 1791, between Nottingham and the Marylebone Club.

The first note of Trent Bridge Ground, that Mecca to which the tribes repair, was a match between Kent and Nottingham, played August 26th, 27th, 28th, 1841.

Bowls. Bowls has for many centuries been a fashionable game. It is said that the captains of the English navy were enjoying a game at bowls when the Spanish Armada hove in sight. There are several excellent bowling greens in Nottingham.

Fishing. In *Fishing in Derbyshire and Around*, Mr. W. M. Gallichan (London, F. E. Robinson & Co.) says that "Nottingham is famous for its lace and its fishermen . . . . . It is the university of distinguished adepts in the art piscatorial. We have all heard of the 'Nottingham style,' 'Nottingham floats,' and 'Nottingham lobs.' You cannot walk for a few yards from the handsome Midland Railway Station without realizing that Nottingham folk are as keen upon fishing as upon commerce. The Notts. Anglers Association numbers two-thousand members, and rents many miles of excellent coarse-fishing water. Another powerful club is the Wellington, and then there is the Notts. Piscatorial Society, to say nothing of smaller clubs and a host of unattached fishermen."—p. 92. The Newark Piscatorial Association promoted recently the All England Fishing Match with great success. On the Idle also is a Fishing Association.

The Trent. Spenser in his *Faerie Queene*, says :—

> "And bounteous Trent, that in himselfe enseams
> Both thirty sorts of fish and thirty sundry streames."

Charles Cotton writes of the Trent : "It is doubtless one of the finest rivers in the world, and the most abounding with excellent salmon and all sorts of delicate fish."

That state of affairs unfortunately refers to a past date, when there were less impurities, and fewer fishermen, but Mr. Gallichan states that in 1905, in one day in January, eleven large salmon were observed jumping the weir at Averham, and it is satisfactory to find that a well-known writer in the newspaper reports, Mr. C. Jackson, Piscatorial Depot, Drury Hill, Nottingham, a practical angler and an authority on artificial flies, of sixty-five years experience in Trent fishing, will give young beginners the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the river and its tributaries.

Space will not permit any reference to fishing in the two trout streams, the Greet and the Dover Beck, or in the canals and other waters.

The Theatre. The theatre appears to have taken a more prominent position in the time of Shakespeare, and his pregnant words, and dramatic representations of historical events, have continued to entertain and instruct ever since.

Punch and Judy. Punch, with his wife Judy, and dog Toby, being the chief characters in a popular puppet show, is of Italian origin, but was introduced to England soon after Queen Elizabeth's time, and was very popular during the seventeenth century.

Fairs. The great fairs were the occasion of much sport and pleasure. Lenton Fair, granted by Henry III, previous to 1163, continued twelve days, and Goose Fair is is said to have originally continued twenty-one days, afterwards nine days, reduced a few years ago to three days.

Children's Games. In a *Dictionary of British Folk Lore*, Mrs. Alice B. Gournie has an interesting memoir on the study of children's games, in which she says, "The study of children's games takes us therefore into several departments of research. Many traces of customs that do not belong to modern life; customs that take us back to very early times indeed are brought before us. The weapons are bows and arrows, the amusements hunting and hawking; animals are found in such close relationship with human beings that only very primitive conditions of life would allow; contests between men and women occur in such a way that we are taken back to one of the earliest known as marriage by capture; then from this stage to a later, when purchase or equivalent value obtains; then to a marriage with a ceremony which carries us back to the earliest forms of such ceremonies. That such customs can be suggested in connection with these games goes far to prove that they in fact originate the game,—that no other theory satisfactorily accounts for all the phenomena."

"We have in these children's games some of the oldest historical documents belonging to our race, worthy of being placed side by side with the folk-talk and other monuments of man's progress from savagery to civilization."

Classification. Mrs. Gournie makes an interesting classification of children's games in support of the foregoing theory, giving a list of the manner of games usually

played, such as marriage games, courtship and love-making, fortress games, victimising or penalty games, contest games, witch or child stealing, hide and seek, skill and chance, and a great number of other forms that seem to have descended from the olden time, and to have been taught by the children of one generation to those of the next, without book or plan, but agreeing in a marvellous manner in all our counties, and telling of ancient worship, or border contests, or tribal quarrels, or child stealing, or enforced marriages, or recurring festivals, or war dances, or otherwise.

Several Nottinghamshire ladies have contributed local games and versions to the collection.

Pastimes have increased in number and interest very greatly in recent years. The revelations of the microscope, the observations and study of nature, as given in such books as *English Bird Life*, by H. Knight Horsfield, or Cassell's *Nature Book*, a popular description by pen and camera of the delights and beauties of the open air. Gardening, with its invigorating aids; botany, with its charms; bees, with their marvels; music, with its harmony; photography, sketching, sailing, rowing, swimming, riding, cycling, carpentering, billiards, bagatelle, gymnastics, pet birds, homing, rabbits, etc., and, what is more important, philanthropy, with its touching claims, and a hundred other things, all tend to make life worth living, to drive away dull care, and, what is worse, *ennui*—nothing to do—and to brace up the soul to discharge life's duties worthily and well.

Gladiatorial Sports. The modern tendency to develop sports with a view to bringing great crowds together to gaze is not to be encouraged. The good old-fashioned games and pastimes of tennis, bowls, cricket, quoits, golf, rowing, fishing, swimming, and such like athletic games of individual effort, pastime and skill are far more productive of real recreation of body and mind than the excitements attending the exhibition of the energy and skill of others. The quietness of a good home and garden are more helpful than the cheers of a crowd, the survey of the hills and dales and country walks, with an appreciation of nature in all its forms of animate and inanimate objects, will do more to give health and restfulness than all spectacular displays admired by multitudes.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

ROADS.

It may be safely assumed that the first explorer of our County walked on virgin soil, or at best on a wild beast tract, and such tracts would be the way between the wild beast's den, whether a natural cave or sheltered nook in the woods, and the places of food supply. Suitable places for fording rivers, and avoiding swamps or marshes, and skirting high hills, as the most conveniently to pass from one part of the country to another would be a succeeding step. It must have been a long time, before the bridge superseded the ferry, or the big stones put in the river's bed in shallow places to form stepping stones for persons crossing. It is an interesting problem when going on an old road to try to realize the reason for the road being exactly where it is. The crossing of the Trent at East Bridgford, and River Devon at Newark, and Trent Bridge at Nottingham, would be near the sites of older ferries, and those ferries would be determined by the shallowness or depth of water, by the marshes it was necessary to cross on the way, and by the big hills that must be avoided. Riding on the back of a horse, or other animal, would follow the walking track, and a great gain would result when it was found that a round piece of wood might be turned to carry something, whether in the form of a wheelbarrow, or of a war chariot. Soon, however, it must have been found that wheels required roads, and doubtless there were many bungling attempts made before one was formed satisfactorily. The Romans made the greatest progress in this respect, and as their policy when taking possession of a country was to make ways or roads straight from one military fortress, town, or point, to another, however far distant, they supplied us with fine examples of plan and thoroughness, for their work was done well. When they left us, the progress of road engineering seems to have stood still, and for a thousand years we went fast asleep so far as good roads were concerned. Even the Norman Conquest did not in this respect awake us, nor do we seem to have awakened until bluff King Harry VIII. rudely shook us, and told us that English thinking was better than Italian, but that he must do the thinking for us, and it appears he had been thinking about taking the money from the mon-

asteries, and with it making better highways. Just then Martin Luther shouted across the water: "Think for yourselves. There's a road to Heaven from wherever a man stands." So again possibly we forgot our roads. Whatever the explanation, the England afterwards was never the same as the England before.

Roman Roads. In *Three Lectures on Roads and Road Making*, Mr. H. A. Glass in early Victorian days informs us that the Romans had a Surveyor General — a Supreme Director—for road making. "It is said of Caius Gracchus that the people were charmed to see him go forth on his tours of road making, followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors and magistrates. The Romans made their roads in a straight line, not very particular as to gradients; and for the best of all reasons, their carriages rested on solid axles, the four wheels rigidly parallel with each other, and no springs. A curve in the road would inevitably upset a Roman conveyance."

In *The Roman Roads in Britain*, by Thomas Codrington, M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S., published by the S.P.C.K., he gives a map of the Roman Roads, and credits our County with only the Fosse, running from Lincoln by Leicester and Bath to Ilchester, and thence to Exeter in one direction, and to Dorchester and Weymouth in the other. He places in our County the Stations — Crococalana (Brough), Ad Pontem (East Stoke), Margidunum (Castle Hill), and Verometum (Willoughby). Newark, he says, is not Roman.—247. Ermine Street also runs from Doncaster to Lincoln by Segelocum (Littleborough), "crossing the railway just west of Bingham Station, one mile due north of which at Castle Hill, Barrow Field, is the site of the Station Margidunum." Near Lodge-on-the-Wolds, two miles south of Cotgrave Gorse, Stukeley describes the pavement of the road as "of great blue flagstones laid edgeways very carefully," and says that "all the way thence to Willoughby-on-the-Wolds the road was paved with red flints laid with the smoothest side upwards, upon a bed of gravel, and the report then was that the Fosse was thus paved all the way from Newark to Leicester. This paving still exists about a mile to the north of Six Hills."—p. 250.

An interesting question arises, considering the Romans had such a reputation for road making. Did they metal or

stone their roads? In Italy the Appian Way is paved with sets of granite, or hard stone, as our town streets are now. Our country roads are "macadamized" with broken stones, rolled or pressed. Did the Romans do the like, or did they make only the lines of roads, the soil levelling, with dykes, culverts, bridges, etc.? Mr. E. P. Hooley, the County Surveyor, tells me that the Fosse between Newark and Saxondale, or between Bourton Bridge and Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire, has no trace whatever of having been made in the sense of original making as we now understand the term. If hard stones had been placed on the surface they would, notwithstanding seventeen hundred years have passed, have in some form shown themselves, but tested in fifty places, only virgin soil has appeared.

The Domesday Book provides, so far as Nottingham is concerned, that the road towards York shall be so guarded that if anyone ploughs or makes a ditch within two perches of the King's road he shall pay a fine of eight pounds.

Early Roads. The Burgesses of Nottingham in 1225 granted to the Burgesses of Retford the tolls from the bridge of Kelham to Doverbeck, and from Epperstone to Merils Bridge, West Drayton, and from Retford northward in consideration of twenty marks of silver twice a year, together with a dinner.

In 1285 it was enacted that "all bushes and trees along the 'ways' leading from one market town to another should be cut down for two hundred feet on each side to prevent robbers lurking therein."—*Glass.*

Highways were the subject of legislation in the reign of Henry VIII., but the first general Act was passed in 1555. The Act, in its preamble, states: "The roads were both very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all passengers and carriages."—*Pike*, 112.

In these early times the roads of the country were merely drives through tracts of woodlands. The burden of making the roads was probably distasteful to the land owners, and to the clergy as well, as they sought to claim exemption from both national and local burdens. In travelling, therefore, the badness of the roads, the broken—or absence of—bridges, the swamps and swollen streams, made travelling a work of great labour and difficulty; but what was worse than this—the

brigandage, the lawless raids, and highway robberies, made travelling exceedingly risky, and caused travellers to go in bands to the fairs. Even these bands were liable to attack, and the carrying off of treasure, or a stolen victim, was generally followed by the demand for a ransom, and shortly before the time known as the Black Death it was no uncommon thing for the clergy even to be charged with aiding or conniving at the lawlessness and violence that prevailed.

Old and New. An interesting lesson may be learnt in contrasting the two roads between Nottingham and Newark. On the Fosse and old Roman roads there are few villages. Why? Because the village was fixed at the centre of the ploughed lands, which being without hedges, were cultivated on the three years system. The people lived largely on what they produced, and used the big roads only to a small extent, so the big roads often became boundaries of parishes, of wapentakes, and of counties. Thus Bingham is half a mile to the east of the Fosse, and East Bridgford half a mile to the west, and the Fosse being the boundary shows that the parishes were made after the Fosse, for the Fosse, according to a stone discovered by its side three miles from Leicester in 1771, was made before A.D.120. The wapentakes and counties were also defined after the Roman roads were made. Now return from Newark to Nottingham on the western side of the Trent, not by a Roman road, but by lanes from parish to parish, gradually developed out of foot roads or tracts, the roads not cutting across ploughed lands, but straight for a short space, then a turn at right angles, to be followed by another turn. What does this show? That before there were hedges the land was ploughed, and the path was on a headland, which at length was enclosed and metalled.

The suburban roads were so bad that Queen Elizabeth is said to have ridden to the City (London) on a pillion behind her Lord Chancellor.

Progress had so far been made with roads that in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. there were proclamations for regulating the traffic, and one prohibition was that carts or wagons should not be allowed to pass if with more than two wheels, or with more than six horses, or with a load of more than twenty hundred.—*Pike*, 154. It seems a fine example of how not to do it.

During the Civil Wars eight hundred horse were captured while sticking in the mud, for most people who travelled did so on horseback. It is said that "£12 a ton was charged for conveying goods from London to Exeter."—*Glass.* The result of this cost was the most primitive articles of wood, tin, and leather were in use; pottery was of the coarsest kind; intercourse between people at a distance was almost unknown, or limited to the wealthy; superstitions brooded in the minds of the people; ghost stories abounded; no one thought of travelling for pleasure, and a trip to the seaside would have been deemed reckless, if not tempting Providence.

The roads of Nottinghamshire, being so bad before turnpike roads were made, the Trent became the great highway for commerce. From Nottingham to Southwell, fourteen miles, is said to have taken, even for a skilled pedestrian, five hours to walk.

"The road from Retford to Worksop . . . . . was the heaviest sandy road in the County except that from Worksop to Warsop, in which Laird says he was three hours in travelling eight miles in a post chaise."—*White.*

In 1705 Mr. Montague rode in the saddle from London to Nottingham, from which place he wrote that the journey had occupied four days.

Under an Act of Parliament passed in 1766, the Great North Road was diverted from its ancient course across the Forest from Markham Moor to Barnby Moor, so as to pass through Retford.

Flood Roads. The difficulties our forefathers had to contend with in crossing low marshy ground may be illustrated by the Nottingham Flood Road, as it was called, now the London Road, reaching from the bottom of Hollow Stone to Trent Bridge. There was nearly a mile of low ground which had to be crossed, and for which a raised road, having many arches, had to be provided, the material for the bridge being firstly wood, replaced afterwards by stone, but so shattered in 1795 by a great flood, that it had to be entirely taken down; an Act of Parliament obtained, under which new bridges were erected, "presenting," we are told, "a noble appearance, and constituting a favourable promenade to the townspeople."

A similar condition was attained on the Great North Road near Newark. A series of arches were constructed by Smeeton, of lighthouse fame, known locally as Muskham Arches, but among engineers as "Smeeton's Folly."

Progress. It is worthy of notice, the quiet and orderly progress that was made after we obtained civil and religious liberty by the overthrow of the Stuart period of government, and the establishment of constitutional rule under William III. Fifty years or so after the Revolution we discovered that we wanted better roads as a means of communication from one part of the country to another, so in 1738 an Act was passed for making, amongst many other roads, a turnpike road from Nottingham to Loughborough, and in 1758 Acts were obtained for making roads from Nottingham to Derby, to Grantham, and to Alfreton.

About the same time began the Inclosure movement, so that more corn could be grown.—See the dates by referring to the Inclosure chapter. The Inclosure awards continued to develop for two or more generations. Meanwhile it was found that a cheaper mode of transit was required for heavy goods than by carting on highways, and for the next two generations canals were made, and great developments ensued.

Toll Bars. The system of making roads under Acts of Parliament—called the Turnpike Acts—obtained for the purpose, although an expensive and clumsy way of accomplishing the work, secured for us a number of good roads. The promoters raised the money in combined sums, and having made the roads, often on the lines of the old tracks, put up toll bars every few miles, and employed a man at each bar, or gate, to collect tolls of 3d., 6d., or 1s., for the various types of traffic passing the toll bar. These tolls were let, or farmed out to the highest bidder, at an annual auction, which was advertised in the newspapers. Here is *The Nottingham Journal* of June 23rd, 1837, in which there are advertisements of tolls to be let. Leadenham and Southwell bars are reported to have produced in the previous year at Beacon Hill £352, and at Beckingham bar £400 above the cost of collection; Fosters Bridge to Drayton, £900; Dunham Ferry to Markham Common, at Darlton Bar, £60; Markham, £50; Retford and Littleborough the amount is blank; Worksop and Retford, at Manton, £303; Babworth, £291; Mansfield and Worksop, at Peatfield Lane, £480; Welbeck, £267; Bawtry to East Markham, £980.

How these toll bars were hated! To have to stop when driving, to unbutton coats to get 3d. or 6d., especially during wet or cold weather, and the more so at night having to stop and shout out "Gate!" and wait until the sleepy keeper got up and came out, was a severe trial to patience. Dean Hole says his father (who lived at Caunton) could find relief only in words. "It was a repetition of toll bars when we were travelling in Wales which caused him to utter, to my astonishment and awe, for the first and only time in my hearing, a monosyllable which is only used in polite society with reference to the mothers of horses, or to an obstruction made for the purpose of turning a wheel in the vicinity of a water mill."

Speaking personally, I remember that my father would drive a mile or two round to avoid a toll bar. In the summer of 1849, I, on four successive weekly market days, drove a flock of ewes and lambs for sale from Hucknall to Nottingham and back. Agriculture was so bad, and grass keep so scarce, that nobody would buy the animals—my father said he could not even give them away. My instructions each time were to avoid the Mansfield Road toll bar; so going down Sherwood Rise, I turned the sheep at the bottom across the waste land that then was to the east of the Race Course, up through the ravine, in what is now the Church Cemetery. That ravine was then used as a ropewalk (the Robin Hood Caves were used for shelter, and the imaginary Druidical rocks were waste sand hills), then down Shaw's Lane (Sherwood Street) and Sheep Lane (Market Street), and so to the Market Place.

Coaching. About 1725, Wylie says the first conveyance—it is presumed stage coach is meant—commenced to run to London. "In 1750 three waggons set out at half-past-two on Tuesday mornings for London, returning each Friday night. The York carrier left each Tuesday morning . . . . . and returned on Saturday. Besides the carriers to the neighbouring towns, there were not fewer than four hundred saddle horses kept by the middle and trading classes of the Town, or about a horse to each twenty-nine inhabitants." "In 1770 the Nottingham stage coach started at five o'clock on Tuesday mornings for London; the passengers slept at Northampton, and arrived at the Metropolis at seven o'clock on Thursday evenings." The coaches went only twice a week, Sundays and Tuesdays. A coach that travelled sixty miles a day was termed "a flying coach."

In *The Nottingham Review* in 1817 there is an advertisement of a coach starting from The White Lion, Nottingham, at five o'clock in the morning, to arrive at Holyhead in thirty-two hours. Fares: Inside, £4; Outside, 42s. The railway fare would now be 14s. 5d.

The formation of the railroad—or more properly the train road—from Pinxton to Mansfield in 1819 reduced the price of coals at Mansfield from 10s. to 13s. per ton to 8s. to 8s. 6d.

The discovery of the power of steam completely and quickly altered the conditions of communication, both by land and sea, and for the time being threw many of the main roads, canals, and home-land into the shade; but all of them are again coming forward, for even railways as a means of communication are, by the discovery of the power to harness electricity, not valued as securities as they were, and enormous developments are taking place through telegraph, telephone, wireless telegraphy, and similar advances of science and knowledge. With quietness, law, and education, progress is the order of the day.

Better Roads. The introduction of the cycle made better roads necessary, and the formation of County Councils shortly afterwards accomplished the desired result. The motor car followed, greatly wearing the roads, and necessitating wider roads, and an improved material to obviate the manufacture of dust. There must be adaptation to new requirements, for the modern business man can with the motor, railway, telegraph, telephone, typewriter, and other facilities, do four times the work of a man a hundred years ago, and the policy of warning people—"This bridge will not carry," etc., will have to go. Our roads must be made to do their work, and our footpaths must be looked after, and repaired at the public expense, for the public well-being.

An experiment has been made on the Grantham road near West Bridgford, where, by the new combination of materials, the road is practically dustless. The cost is more, but its lifetime is longer. It is hoped the experiment may be a success, and its benefits extended.

Along with the diminished pleasure to the pedestrian of walking on our high roads owing to motor car dust, there comes an increased appreciation of footpaths, with, at the

same time, an increased desire on the part of land owners to obstruct them. The Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society, in their Report for 1908 state "that no less than eight hundred and twenty instances of this kind have recently come before the Society." It would be a public good if some society or individual in our County would print a description, or give a chart, of the footpaths in the principal parishes of our County.

Bridges. All our bridges must in the end be free. We have abolished turnpikes for roads—the bridges must follow. Wilford, East Bridgford, Dunham, and Gainsborough, must by Parliamentary enactment have their life-time defined, possibly the power to levy rates on localities enacted, and fair and reasonable schemes sanctioned for County Councils' maintenance after given dates.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

OUR WATERWAYS.

The Trent.

"Men may come and men may go,
But I go on for ever."

So Tennyson makes the Brook to say. It was not, however, always so with the Trent. How far back shall we go? Mr. F. M. Burton, F.G.S. and F.L.S., in *The Shaping of Lindsey by the Trent* (London: A. Brown and Sons, Ltd.), gives a diagram of the former and present courses of the Trent, showing its present flow by Torksey, Gainsborough, and the Isle of Axholme, and the old course from shortly below Newark to a junction with the Witham, and through the "Lincoln Gap" on to Boston, and suggests in relation to the "capture" of the Trent by the Humber: "The capture took place before the setting in of the glacial invasion—say 200,000 years ago." He gives reasons for his suggestion, and specifies instances where the Trent has changed its course, and left a parish on a different side of the river to its former relation, but he says "The Trent is an old river now, and has lost the grading power of its youth."—p. 48. It was much larger, and flowed at a higher level, possibly "one thousand feet or more higher than it does now, and from these heights the river poured

down over what is now Lincolnshire, into the North Sea, or on to the land which that sea now covers."—p. 8.

Mr. Burton thinks that the "backward flow of the Trent over its present course during the Ice Age, when glaciers had filled up the Humber Gap through the chalk, and so prevented the passage of the latter river to the North Sea" (p. 51), may have had something to do with the formation of the surface.

Domesday Book. In 1086 it is noted that in Nottingham the waters of the Trent were so guarded that if anyone impeded the passage of boats he had to pay a fine of eight pounds. This seems to indicate that such was the law from Nottingham downwards, so vital was the free passage of the Trent considered.

Nottingham was in after years responsible as the head of the navigation of the Trent, so that when Henry I. (1100-1135) gave to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, permission to build a bridge over the Trent to his castle at Newark, he made the reservation—"so that it may not hurt my city of Lincoln, nor my borough of Nottingham."

Trent Bridge. Bridge building seems to have had in the olden time a sacred character attached to it. Thus, London Bridge had its chapel and chaplain, and the Trent Bridge at Nottingham is said to have had two chapels. The northward one was under the patronage of St. James, and the other one St. Mary.

From 1311 to 1329 Alice la Palmer devoted her life and substance to the repair of Trent Bridge, and she had a collecting brief to ask alms for the purpose. The King, when she became a widow, granted her a pension, to be paid by Thurgarton Priory. Some day West Bridgford will erect a monument, or name a street, in honour of Alice la Palmer.—See Mr. Stapleton's article on the Chapel on Trent Bridge.

The Town's taxes were for the time being devoted for bridge repairs. It was then of the utmost importance, considering the residence of the Queen (Isabella) at Nottingham Castle, and the steps likely to be taken, that the bridge should be completed.

In 1362-3, the King commanded the Constable of Nottingham Castle to procure a barge for the passage over the Trent, for the bridge called Hethbeth Bridge was broken

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OLD TRENT BRIDGE, NOTTINGHAM.

down. All the profits of the tolls for five years were directed to be employed upon repairing the bridge.

For more than a century following there were bequests of land and money for the fabric of the bridge, and gifts of Basford stone, great beams, poles, etc. The lands form the Bridge Estate of the Nottingham Corporation.

The Mayor appointed collectors to solicit alms "to mend dangerous roads and perilous bridges, and especially the bridge of Hethbeth over the Trent"—"there is found there a fit priest in the chapel built upon the said bridge daily celebrating divine service." This was in 1467.

Fishing. In 1348-9, the fishing of the Old Trent, the course of which may be seen near Trent Bridge, was kept for the Town, and was given to the Constable "for his time for having good counsel and assistance."—*B.R.*, 411.

Charter. According to the Charter of Henry II., 1156, extensive jurisdiction had been granted by the King's grandfather, and was confirmed to the Burgesses of Nottingham over the River Trent from Thrumpton to Newark, and from Rempstone to Retford, "and the passage of the Trent ought to be free to navigators as far as one perch extends on either side of the mid-stream."

Our Borough Records tell us that in 1382 there was a Royal Proclamation prohibiting owners of land on the sides of the Trent from taking fines from navigators, but this seems to have referred to a much more serious state of affairs than the records disclose, for King Richard II.'s proclamation says: "We learn by the clamorous relation of the men of Nottingham and of the community of the whole County of Nottingham of the interruption of the said river by certain men having lands and castles adjacent on both banks, who have long taken and do not cease to take fines, redemptions, and pledges from every ship and boat coming and going, leading to the great dearness of victuals and to the manifest oppression and intolerable grievance of the Town and Castle of Nottingham, and the whole community aforesaid." After pointing out that "the said river is our water, and by common right a passage and a carriage for all men requiring to pass over the same," the Royal Order in Council goes on to command, under peril of the King's displeasure and the penalties as provided by law, that such practices be at once made to cease, and the

river be left free between the Port of Hull and Nottingham. From this, as Mr. R. Seymour Ramsdale points out, it is evident the Trent was in a state of blockade, in the hands of outlaws who infested the water-ways of the country.

The Trent was formerly navigable for ships as well as boats as far as Nottingham.

Acts. By an Act passed in 1352 it was declared that the common passage of boats and ships in the great rivers of England "be oftentimes annoyed by inhansing Gores, Weres, Stakes, etc.," the Sheriff is ordered to do execution by cutting and utterly pulling them down, without being renewed.—This and several other items are taken from Mr. de Salis's *Chronology*.

There was an Act passed in 1699 "for keeping the River Trent in the Counties of Leicester, Derby, and Stafford, navigable."

An Act was passed in 1772 for improving the navigation of that part of the River Trent called Newark Dyke, and appointing commissioners for the same, and empowering that barges thereon be haled by men only.

In 1783 Parliament authorized a depth of twenty-four to twenty-seven inches from Wilden Ferry to Gainsborough, and empowered barges to be haled by horses, and ten years later (1793) authority was given for a depth of thirty inches.

Other Acts were passed in 1884, 1887, 1892, and 1906.

In 1881, Leicester Corporation spent £32,000 in improving the channel of the River Soar, which has had an important bearing upon the lessening of floods in the Trent Valley.

Governing Bodies. There are several bodies who have limited jurisdiction over the Trent. (1) The Board of Conservators of the Trent Fishery District —which includes all the rivers flowing into the Trent— acting under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts, 1861 to 1892, grant licences at a cost of half a crown a year to fish for trout and char with a single rod and line, regulating under penalties the use of nets, lines, and other modes of catching, where permission has been obtained, and having other powers and procedures. Their report for 1907 complains bitterly of the pollution from innumerable sources, of

obstructions to the fish being able to ascend the streams, and of the lack of means to artificial propagation. (2) The Trent Navigation Company have statutory rights as to dredging, and to take toll, the upkeep of towing path, etc., down to near Gainsborough Bridge, and the Humber Conservancy Board below thence. (3) The Newark Navigation Commissioners have powers over about four miles of the waterway extending from Averham Weir to where the streams unite at Crankley, which powers are leased to the Trent Navigation Company. (4) The Notts. County Council has no statutory powers, but exercises its influence in the prevention of the passing of any measures through Parliament that will be detrimental to the public welfare, and on the Humber Conservancy Board the Council, jointly with Lindsey County Council, has a representative, the office being at present very worthily filled by Sir Hickman Bacon. (5) The Nottingham Corporation own about seven miles of river frontage, and both banks at the point where a foot-bridge has been erected. On the north bank, between Wilford and Trent Bridges, an embankment, with drive, walks, and pleasure grouuds, has been formed at great cost. The powers of toll formerly possessed have been allowed to lapse.

Pollution. It is highly desirable that there should be a pure stream so that fish may thrive in the River, but for ages the towns and villages have been sending their sewage into it, and great business concerns have been established on its banks, and on those of its contributories, whose polluted outflow has gone into the river. Much has been done to remedy this evil. Leicester, Derby, Burton, Nottingham, and many other places have spent large sums in lessening the mischief. Ilkeston and Newark are said to be big sinners who postpone repentance and amendment of life, but gradually reform is proceeding. The cost of remedial steps is so great that only gradual amendment can be secured, and meanwhile the Trent is wonderfully recuperative. Pollute it, and it does not sulk and keep its bad humours. In ten miles, or less, from the point of pollution the mischief will, by air and evaporation and settling, largely disappear.

The River Trent drains the principal portions of the Counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Stafford, and parts of Warwick and Lincoln. It is navigable, with short exceptions below Wilden Ferry, near Shardlow, and the exceptions have been otherwise provided for, such as by the

Beeston Cut, which, together with the navigation of the river, is controlled by the Trent Navigation Company.

The greatest velocity of the current is at Hazelford, where it runs about three miles an hour, but it runs swiftly between Holme Lock and Fiskerton.

The Ægir. During the high tides which come round once a fortnight there is in the lower reaches of the Trent a singular occurrence. It is noted by Carlyle in his *Hero Worship*, who speaks of that Sea Tempest Jotün Ægir, a very dangerous Jotün, in whom the oldest Nottingham bargeman, he says, believed. You are quietly gliding down the stream in your launch, or pleasure boat, or barge, when you hear the rush and roar of approaching waters. Men on the banks shout "'War' 'Agir!"; every boatman shows excitement, and quickly sets his boat in order, and waits with his bow or stern facing the stream, which comes rushing on with a height of three to five feet, carrying everything before it, and having "whelps," or following waves behind it, and woe be to you if the force of the stream catches your boat on its broadside. You enquire what all this means. Water is verily rushing up hill, and you are told that the old Norsemen who invaded our country a thousand years ago, and who saw a god in every operation of Nature, said it was the god Ægir showing his power; and if you are sceptical it may be explained that when the high or spring tides are rushing from the sea up the Humber, the mouth of the Trent is so constructed, or is so silted, that it cannot receive the rising tides as quickly and quietly as the mighty force behind requires—hence the rise of the water, which expends its course gradually over a distance of thirty-five miles as it meets the descending stream.

In George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss* there is portrayed a mill on a tributary to the Trent a little below Gainsborough, the latter place being the St. Oggs of the story.

In the year 1600 the river during a heavy flood changed its course near to the village of Holme, through which means the township became situate on the eastern side of the river, whereas it had previously been on the western side.

National Navigation. For the purpose of navigation more locks are required, and further dredging. The lower part of the Trent is subject in certain years and seasons to silting up, and the obstruction ought to be

removed quicker than is now the case. The keeping of all our navigable rivers clear ought to be a national charge, for nobody knows what may be in the future the importance of keeping clear these water ways. The Trent, kept clear and open, may some day cause Nottingham to become an inland port in the very heart of the kingdom, whereby coal and other heavy goods may be sent for export, and imports brought in from abroad. This is not a question of helping boat carrying companies, but of public interest. We are not nationally developing our internal resources, but, on the other hand, there is a tendency for heavy trades to leave the interior of the country, and to locate themselves on the sea-board, for lack of better water carriage. At present only a few sea-going vessels still pass up to Gainsborough, for owing to the silting up, and to the transfer to Hull as the centre of commerce for the district, the larger vessels find considerable difficulty in ascending the river. The officer appointed by the Board of Trade to report on the river from Gainsborough to the sea reported that it was in a deplorable condition, both in regard to navigation and its capacity for drainage. Wrecks occur in the river below Gainsborough from time to time, but there has hitherto been no Authority to clear them away. Indeed, one wreck occurred as long ago as during the Crimean War, but it still remains in the mud—so said Mr. Fitzgerald, K.C., before a Parliamentary Committee. The Humber Conservancy Board have recently obtained control over the lower portion of the river, and may in future have also the responsibility as to its proper clearance.

The principal navigable water ways of the country—the Thames, the Severn, the Mersey, the Trent, and others—ought to be connected. This, however, is a national question, combined with local aid and development.

Progress! There has recently been much talk about utilizing the Trent more thoroughly. The misfortune is that we talk and write and do not act. A Public Meeting was held in the Nottingham Exchange on September 4th, 1838, for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming a Ship Canal from Hull to Nottingham, J. Heard, Esq., Mayor, in the Chair. On the motion of T. Wakefield, Esq., seconded by Mr. Wheatcroft, it was resolved unanimously: "That this Meeting is of opinion that a Ship Canal from Hull to Nottingham is desirable, and would be advantageous to this Town and the surrounding district."

On the motion of T. Moore, Esq., seconded by Mr. Felkin, a Committee was appointed to carry the former motion into effect.—*Orange*, p. 20.

"If wishes were horses, beggars would ride!" After seventy years we are still talking, and seeking for fiscal reform to protect our commerce, while Germany is extending her commerce by State water ways, and other means of securing cheap freight and navigation.

Our Canals. The earliest canals in England were the Foss Dyke, the Cuer, or Carr's Dyke, both of them at the northern boundaries of our County, eleven and forty miles long, constructed by the Romans and improved in the twelfth century, and the Foss Dyke was scoured out under Henry I. in 1121, and is still navigable. The opening of the Aire and Calder Navigation, then three feet six inches, but now nine feet deep, under an Act of 1699, was the first important step in inland navigation, and is still the model for our future Trent development.

We owe much for our canal system, that was of great value before railways were made, and will probably again become valuable, to two men—the Duke of Bridgewater and James Brindley, the engineer, the former for finding the money to make canals, and the second for knowing how to spend the money in such form as to make it a commercial success and a public good. There was nothing estimable in the Duke's character. He had been disappointed in a love affair, and thereupon quitted the society of women and fashion altogether. He would not even allow a woman servant to wait upon him. "He disliked flowers and such like rubbish!" He had, however, grasped the idea that inland navigation would pay, and would be a great convenience, and he devoted his life to the work. He had some valuable coal mines on his estate. The cost of conveying coal on horses' or mules' backs was great, but so were the difficulties of water levels for canals. How were they to be overcome? If any man could do it, Brindley was the man.

Brindley. James Brindley was born in a house standing in a little croft near Buxton in 1716. He was the eldest son of a poor man with a large family, and he received no education. He had, however, a short knife, with

which he, when away from work—for he worked as soon as his arms and legs enabled him to do so—made wood models of wheels, put them together on the mill principle, and then made miniature streams of water, and set them to work. Encouraged by his mother, when he was seventeen he was bound for seven years to a millwright. The men were a drunken set, and he had to act as pot-boy, and fetch beer. They would not instruct him. He had to find out everything for himself, but within three years he became the most accomplished millwright in the shop. The customers preferred him to do their work, for he put conscience into his work, and did it well. His master remonstrated with him: "Jem, if thou persist in this foolish way of working, there will be very little trade left to be done when thou comes out o' thy time; thou knaws firmness o' wark's th' ruin o' trade." A miserable cheat! A contemptible lie! There is no surer way of getting trade than by doing work well, and Brindley was an example of it. Before he had half completed his term of apprenticeship he was put in charge of the shop, and when his master died he carried on the business. The conscientious way in which he executed orders, and made improvements, gained him numerous customers, and where new machinery was concerned he soon became known as the best schemer—thinker—contriver—in the district. Over many difficulties he triumphed, and so it came to pass that when the Duke of Bridgwater, and his agent, John Gilbert, wanted a schemer, Brindley was sent for, and after what he called an "ochilor servey, or a ricconitoring" of all the difficulties of elevation and how the money for the cost was to be raised, Brindley exclaimed: "Well, duke, I can't tell you. I only know that if the money can be got, I can finish the Canal, and that it will pay very well." And finished it was, and opened in 1761.

We must leave Brindley—a marvel of a self-made man, and a benefactor to his race. His further works may be seen by a reference to Mr. Glass, and to *The Lives of our Engineers.*

Brindley's last canal undertaking was the one going from Chesterfield through our County by Retford, but he died in 1772, five years before it was opened.—*A. A. Kidson.*

It was easy for others to follow where Brindley led.

The navigable rivers and canals in our County, in addition to the Trent, may be named:—

The River Idle. An Act was passed in 1720 for making the Idle navigable from Retford to Bawtry. It is now navigable from Bawtry, and proceeds by Misterton to Stockwith. It is under the jurisdiction of Commissioners.

The Soar Navigation. The Soar Navigation runs from Loughborough by Kegworth and Radcliffe to the Trent near Red Hill. By an Act passed in 1776 it was made navigable to Loughborough, where canals join to it.

The Chesterfield Canal. The Chesterfield Canal runs thence forty-six miles *via* Worksop, Retford, Gringley, etc., to West Stockwith, where it joins the Trent. It was completed in 1776, and was in 1846 leased in perpetuity to the Great Central Railway.

The Erewash Canal. The Erewash Canal flows from Langley Mill to Trent, being only about one and a half miles from its head in our County. The Act was obtained in 1776.

The Foss Dyke. The Foss Dyke was deepened to three feet six inches in 1782.

The Nottingham and Grantham Canal. The Nottingham and Grantham Canal proceeds from the Trent at Nottingham, through Cropwell and Hickling to Grantham, thirty-three miles. It is owned by the Great Northern Railway. Mr. Jessop was the Engineer.

The Nottingham Canal. The Nottingham Canal proceeds from the Trent through Nottingham, Wollaton, and Cossall, to Langley Mill, fourteen and three-quarter miles, where it joins the Cromford Canal of the Midland Railway. The Act was obtained in 1792, and the canal completed in 1802. These two canals were acquired by the Nottingham and Grantham Railway Company, and in 1861 were leased to the Great Northern Railway for 999 years.

The Cromford Canal. The Cromford Canal commences near Langley Mill, and ascends by Codnor Park and Butterley through a tunnel to Cromford, of which one and a quarter miles are in our County. It belongs to the Midland Railway, and at Butterley is now obstructed by the tunnel having fallen in. Mr. Jessop, Engineer.

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CHAPTER LXXXIV.

OUR RAILWAYS.—THE MIDLAND.

"The world exists by change."

Among the many efforts of inventors to make an effective steam engine travel there were, of course, many failures. "In 1813, Mr. Brunton, of the Butterley Works, patented a new engine to go upon legs. The legs were to go in front of the engine alternately, like those of a horse, and the steam power was to be assisted by a horizontal windmill. It was a grand conception! But in its very first start the boiler burst, and killed and wounded nearly everybody that was about it."—*Glass.*

Gray. In 1820 Mr. Thomas Gray, of Nottingham, published a book, *Observations on a General Iron Railway*, in which he urged the propriety of making a railway between Manchester and Liverpool. The history of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway is the history of the early struggles and success of the railway enterprise. Gray canvassed his project with wondrous zeal. He memorialized and petitioned and deputationed all kinds of influential men, until Gray and his "general iron railway" became known as a bore, and his hobby. William Howitt, who knew him personally, says that "this pertinacious projector seized all men by the button-hole and unravelled his scheme of a general iron railway. Begin where you would, on whatever subject—the weather, the news, the political movement or event of the day—it would not be many minutes before you would be enveloped in steam, and listening to a harangue on the practicability and immense advantages to the nation and every man in it of a general iron railway."—*Glass.*

Stephenson. The name of George Stephenson will ever stand out as the prominent figure in connection with railway enterprize. "Why madam," he is reported to have said to a lady enquirer, "they used to call me George Stephenson; I am now called George Stephenson, *Esquire*, of Tapton House, near Chesterfield." This, however, was towards the close of an honourable and useful career. At the commencement of the railway career, Mr. Pearse, the banker, sent a messenger on horseback with a letter addressed

to "George Stephenson, Esquire, Engineer," but no one in the village knew such a man, and the messenger was about returning unsuccessful, when it occurred to one of the colliers that the man wanted was "Geordie." A picture is given in *Our Iron Roads*, by F. S. Williams, formerly one of the tutors of the Congregational Institute, Nottingham, of George Stephenson's birthplace, and it looks like a house that would be let at 3s. or 4s. a week. "In the earlier part of my career"—it is George Stephenson who is speaking—"and when he"—his son Robert—"was a little boy, I saw how deficient I was in education, and made up my mind that he should not labour under the same defect, but that I should put him to a good school, and give him a liberal training. I, however, was a poor man; and how do you think I managed? I betook myself to mending my neighbours' clocks and watches at night after my daily labour was done; and thus I procured the means of educating my son. He became my assistant and companion."

When George Stephenson was before the Parliamentary Committee he dared not state how fast his engines could travel, for the promoters feared opposition from the stage coach proprietors. Still, "he thought the engines could travel twelve miles an hour, but he should only recommend eight miles an hour with twenty tons, and four miles an hour with forty tons."

One of the Committee asked Stephenson: "Suppose now one of these engines to be going along a railroad at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and that a cow were to stray on the line and get in the way of the engine, would not that, think you, be a very awkward circumstance?" "Yes," was Stephenson's answer, in his broad Northumbrian accent, "Yes, for the coo."

A great tournament of engines was held in 1829 at Rainhill, Liverpool, when Stephenson's "Rocket" reached thirty-five miles an hour, and his success was complete.

The Midland. We have seen the formation of roads in our County, and the roads occupied by coaches, supplemented by canals, and now we are to see a greater change than ever. It was on the 16th August, 1832, when a small meeting, followed by large results, was held at The Sun Inn, at Eastwood. The persons attending were the coal owners of the district. They were accustomed to meet

there weekly and transact their business, and then dine together, and quaff their wine. For twelve years or more there had been a horse tramway carrying coals and cotton from the Pinxton Wharf of the Cromford Canal up to Mansfield, and bringing back stone, lime, and corn, and many a barge had floated from Pinxton Wharf down the New Canal, and up the Soar to Leicester and the south. A very prosperous trade was being done by the coal masters at the border of our County, as may be indicated by the fact that the shares of the Loughborough Canal, on which £140 had been paid, rose to £4,500 each, and so continued for thirty years—I am here quoting from *The Midland Railway : Its Rise and Progress*, by Fredk. S. Williams. But on the 17th July, 1832, a small railway had been opened, amid general rejoicing and the roar of a cannon, for conveying coal from Swanington to Leicester, and this would largely injure the coal masters of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, unless something could be done to meet the difficulty ; and so at The Sun meeting it was resolved : "There remains no other plan for their adoption than to attempt to lay a railway from these collieries to the town of Leicester." This was followed by other meetings, and at a meeting held at The Sun Inn, it was resolved that a railway be forthwith formed. Messrs. Barber and Walker put down their names for £10,000 ; Mr. E. M. Mundy, £5,000 ; Mr. John Wright, £5,000 ; Mr. Francis Wright, £5,000 ; Mr. James Oakes, £2,500 ; followed by the Duke of Portland, Mr. Morewood, and Mr. Coke, £5,000 each, etc. Success, however, was not to be yet ; there were many disappointments, delays, and rival schemes, resulting in the introduction to Parliament in November, 1833, of notices for the Midland Counties Railway to connect the towns of Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby with each other, and with London, joining the London and Birmingham Railway at Rugby, and having a branch to the termination of the Mansfield Railway at Pinxton. There was, however, great opposition by competing schemes, canal proprietors, and timid members of Parliament, who feared such wild innovations, and had "to defend the farmers against having their crops burned up, and their cattle frightened to death by whistling engines and rushing and roaring trains." For seventeen days the House of Commons Committee sat, and then the promoters had to encounter more searching hostility in the Lords, ending by the Erewash Valley Extension having to be abandoned in order to secure the main Bill, which was passed, the estimated

cost of the line being £800,000. In 1838, four thousand men were employed in the construction of the line, which was opened on Thursday, the 30th of May, 1839. The bells of St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, pealed merrily; thousands of people took their places on eminences in the Park to see the first train pass; there were five hundred favoured invited guests; flags and banners floated, and amid the blowing of horns and the roar of the steam, the signal was given, and the train started to Derby, and having rested an hour it returned to Nottingham, where a sumptuous entertainment had been provided.

A woodcut view of the Nottingham (old) Station, standing where the Goods Offices now are, is given by Mr. Williams. To the southern side, as well as to the front, which looked eastward, is shown a field, in which a number of cows are quietly grazing, while over the Tinker's Leen, on the site of the top of where Queen's Walk now is, there is a small bridge over which milkmaids are going to the meadows with their milking pails. In the rear is the Castle Rock, at the foot of which the old water works chimney tells the engine is busy pumping water from the wells beside the Leen for the refreshment of the people. A small locomotive engine and some open tub carriages stand ready to start. It must be remembered that the approach to the Station of those days was by way of Greyfriars Gate and Wilford Road, for the Carrington Street Bridge was not built until 1844, and the Meadows were sacred for cows and those myriads of crocuses which no one who had seen could ever forget. The platform of the railway was, if I remember rightly, formed of some raised planks for getting up into the carriages. As to the country stations, one may still be seen at Attenborough, and at the end of Long Eaton Lane—east of Trent Station—specimens of the cabins in which the station master and his family were to reside, and the business of the Company to be transacted in the same building, which was, as the saying is, scarcely large enough to swing a cat round.

The main line from Trent, *via* Leicester, to Rugby, was opened in 1840.

The Nottingham Mechanics' Institution, which has been of very great benefit to the City, claims the honour of having originated Excursion Trains. On July 20th, 1840, an excursion at half the usual rates was run for the members of

NOTTINGHAM OLD MIDLAND RAILWAY STATION.

ISLINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARIES

the Institution to go to Leicester to visit an Exhibition there. The success of this excursion was such that on August 24th another was advertised, by which two thousand people travelled, many of them standing in the open uncovered "tubs" or wagons of that day. The engine was not strong enough for such a load, and broke down. Thomas Cook saw from the success of these trips a possibility for business, and for the benefit of the people, and Cook's Tourist Agency has become a national institution, and a world-wide benefit.

Six trains a day each way between Nottingham and Derby sufficed for the traffic. There are now more than thirty, in addition to seventeen Great Northern.

In *The Great North of England Railway Time Table*, a copy of the times of trains starting is given in Mr. Grinling's *History of the Great Northern Railway*, as performed on the Midland route, "corrected to July 1st, 1841." Trains are shown as leaving Nottingham at 2.15, 5.15, and 9.35 p.m., arriving in London at 7.45, 11.15 p.m., and 5.0 a.m. respectively. There was no train on Sundays to London, but one left Leicester at 12.0, and arrived in London at 5 0 p.m. In the opposite direction trains leave Nottingham at 7.30, 10.50, and 2.30, leaving Derby at 9.30, 12.45, and 3.30: Sheffield about an hour later; leaving York at 3.30, 5.0, and 8 15, and with no train on Sundays. Only the 5.15 train going south, and the 7.30 going north, had third class carriages.

The above were the through trains, not the local ones.

It was in 1845 the railway mania reached its height, there being submitted to Parliament no less than one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight schemes for lines, with an estimated capital of more than £700,000,000! But the bubbles burst, to the ruin of many. It was not till 1847 that the Erewash Valley line was opened. A competitive scheme for a line from Nottingham to Mansfield had to be bought off with £40,000 of Midland Stock.

The route to London was changed from *via* Rugby, to *via* Bedford and Hitchin, and afterwards to *via* St. Albans.

Of all the General Managers of the Midland system, to none are the general public more indebted than to Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Allport. He was a man of great

energy, combined with pronounced ability, and equal determination, who set himself not merely to extend the Midland system, but to introduce improvements in the convenience of travelling for the artizan classes, for which there was much room. I remember as a lad going from Nottingham to Derby in an uncovered carriage, in which the majority of the passengers had to stand, seats being provided at the ends only. After this there followed covers to keep the smoke and rain off, but leaving the wind to have its full force. Semi-darkness and semi-suffocation followed from the wooden enclosures, but the third class passengers must not be made comfortable, otherwise nobody would pay for second class! Mr. Allport set himself to improve the comfort of third class passengers. From 1st April, 1872, third class carriages were run by all trains—a great innovation, as the "parliamentary," or penny a mile trains, ran on many lines only once or twice a day each way. This step was strongly opposed by other companies, and great efforts were made to effect the withdrawal of the facility, but this was followed by the abolition of second class carriages, and Mr. Allport remarked: "I would not undo what I have done for a million of money." Cushions at the back and on the seats, and improved carriages followed.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

OUR RAILWAYS—Continued.

GREAT NORTHERN AND GREAT CENTRAL.

Great Northern. On 17th April, 1844, an advertisement appeared in *The Times* of a Great Northern Railway from London to York, through Newark and Retford. Negociations were followed by a prospectus, in which Nottinghamshire coals are mentioned among the items to be carried, and according to an estimate of income compiled by Mr. Robert Baxter, of Doncaster, the traffic would be sufficient to pay a dividend of "upwards of nine per cent." on £4,500,000, the amount of capital then asked for. The quotations in this article are from *The History of the Great Northern Railway*, by Mr. C. H. Grinling.

The principal opponent of the Great Northern scheme was Mr. George Hudson, formerly a linen draper of York, who became known as the Railway King, and who was at the head of a number of Midland speculation schemes. He did not believe that a train leaving London with twenty carriages for York would "get there at all on a thick foggy day when the rails are greasy." Among the witnesses in favour of the Bill was the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who gave evidence on behalf of his constituents at Newark, as did also the Earl of Lincoln. The opposition was enormous, and the daily expense of the proceedings before Parliament was estimated at £3,000. There was a seventy days fight before the Committee decided that the preamble was proved, or in other words, in favour of the line being made; but the House of Lords postponed the measure till the following session, when the Lords gave their approval after a contest unparalleled in railway annals, and on 26th June, 1846, the Bill received the Royal Assent, on the same day that Sir Robert Peel's Corn Law Repeal Bill was also assented to. "By the end of 1846 they had expended over half a million of money in their undertaking, although not a single sod had been cut, nor one brick put upon another for its works."—*C. H. Grinling*, p. 62. "The expenditure, both of the London and York and of the Direct Northern, preliminary to the passing of the Act . . . . . came to the monstrous sum of £432,620 12s. 1d." No wonder that "Great Northern shares, which had commanded a premium of £4, fell to a discount of £5, those on which the full calls of £8 had been paid selling for £3 only." Mr. Baxter, referring to the charges in the parliamentary and law departments, said: "They are enormous! they are unprecedented!—and it is an instance which will stand, I trust, without parallel to the end of the world, of the infirmity of that process and that constitution of parliamentary committees which renders it possible to entail upon a company half a million of money in preliminary expenses."—p. 72.

Poor King Hudson! He got into trouble, and in 1849 resigned the chair of the Midland Company, and ceased to be at the head of each of the railways whose fortunes he had so long controlled.

Railway construction was so great at that time that Mr. Brassey, the contractor, had in 1848 between five and six thousand men on the Great Northern, and his contracts "in Great Britain and France represented a capital outlay of about

£36,000,000, involving the payment of some £15,000 to £20,000 weekly in wages to an army of about seventy-five thousand men."—p. 80.

In 1849 steps were taken to make the line between Peterborough and Retford ; the bridge over the Trent at Newark was the most onerous work.—p. 29. It was called a "Warren Truss" Bridge. The complete system was opened August 1st, 1852.

With regard to cost of the works it was found that "up to the end of 1853 their expenditure on capital account had amounted to rather more than nine and a half millions," and with the last Lincolnshire guarantee when capitalized, "the whole sum which the two hundred and eighty-three miles of lines now opened had cost amounted in round figures to eleven millions, whereas Mr. William Cubitt's final estimate for the two hundred and seventy-two miles of the main and loop lines as originally planned had been . . . . £5,400,000 only."—p. 127.

Dean Hole tells of how his father and family used to make their annual expedition to their favourite seaside resort, Scarborough, the Queen of watering places, and which took three days to accomplish, driving from Nottinghamshire, the first day to Doncaster, the second to York, and the third to Scarborough. The hotel bills would of course be considerable, and the cost such that ordinary people could not afford it, and so they stayed at home ; but what a boon has been conferred upon us that we can get down to—say Skegness, in two hours, for five shillings return, or less.

The Grantham Line. The Ambergate, Nottingham and Boston and Eastern Junction Railway had a long name, with a short length and life, for the object was to make a line from Ambergate to Boston by way of Nottingham and Grantham, but the Midland was too powerful for successfully making the first part, and the Great Northern for the like to the east, the result being that a line from Grantham to Colwick Junction only was built, with running powers from Colwick over the Midland into the Nottingham Midland Station, and the Company was heavily encumbered with the Canal, which it had been obliged to take over.

Now the little company became like a lady with arms outstretched in both directions, and with powerful lovers

seeking to obtain her hand. The tale goes that the Midland wooed, and was on the point of winning, when shortly before a meeting called to decide the question, someone connected with the Great Northern bought up all the available shares, and at the meeting turned the scale of voting, and agreements with the Great Northern were entered into, the result being that the Great Northern began working the Nottingham and Grantham line. But the arrangements for running on the Midland line from Colwick, and using the Nottingham Midland Station, were with the Ambergate Company, and not with the Great Northern. When, therefore, the Midland found itself jilted, it was determined not to take the insult lying down.

The passenger trains began running between Retford and Peterborough, thus enabling the Company to run from London to York in six hours—now performed in half the time; and the same day there commenced a service between Nottingham and Grantham, so putting us in direct connection with London at King's Cross, instead of by Midland, *via* Rugby and Euston. This was more than flesh and blood could stand—even the flesh of a railway official, "and when on the opening day, 1st August"—I am quoting from Mr. Grinling's *History of the Great Northern Railway*—"the passengers from King's Cross were actually drawn into the Midland Station at Nottingham by a Great Northern engine, the officials there decided that the time had come to take active measures to defend their rights. Accordingly they got a posse of Midland engines together, and sent them as on an elephant hunt to hem in the Great Northern trespasser on all sides with its own kind; and although the driver of the latter—according to an eye-witness—made a desperate effort to charge through his captors he was, of course, unsuccessful, and had to submit to see his locomotive borne away into imprisonment in a disused shed. The rails leading to this were then pulled up so effectually as to cut off escape, and . . . . . it was not until seven months afterwards that the release of the captive could be obtained." —p. 121.

The Report of the Ambergate Company, dated 17th February, 1853, which the chairman of the company (J. R. Wild, Esq.) has kindly allowed me to peruse, contains a lengthy account of the proceedings, and says: "The Midland Company have released the engine."

Of course, it was a smart thing for the Midland officials to do, and one cannot help laughing at one engine taking

another into custody, and detaining it; but smart things do not always pay. See what followed: a law-suit of course, the construction of an independent line from Colwick to Nottingham, the building of the London Road Station, a permanent estrangement—so that whereas there was a desire to amalgamate the Midland and the Northern, any proceedings in that direction were nipped in the bud.

Lord Allerton, the Chairman of the Great Northern, at a recent meeting very wisely said: "There is no railway service in the world which compares with the English service for safety, luxury or cheapness of travel; and there is no country in the world, notwithstanding statements to the contrary, in which the kind of goods carried in England are carried so expeditiously, or so cheaply." He further said—and we shall all concur in the remark—that "there are no finer body of men existing than the staff and servants of the Great Northern Railway," and we must sympathize with the shareholders in railway companies who have invested thirteen hundred millions of money, upon which they have to be content to take less than four per cent.

Great Central. The Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway, which runs through the north of the County by Worksop and Retford, was opened on July 17th, 1849, the Company having been incorporated three years earlier, but some of its amalgamated systems were born in the year of the good Queen's accession, 1837. The construction of the line was a work of great difficulty, for one of its tunnels—the Woodhead—is three miles in length, and it was seven years from the cutting of the first sod to the opening of the line, while a second tunnel occupied five years, from 1847 to 1852. This was followed by the spending of several millions of money on the docks at Grimsby, and the development of its fishing trade and market, and in steamers trading with the ports to the east of the German Ocean.

The handing over of a great quantity of its mineral traffic to other companies to be carried to London caused the directors to consider the desirability of doing it themselves by the construction of a new line. On February 7th, 1890, Lord Manvers cut the first sod at Beighton, for a line to Staveley, Chesterfield, and Annesley, and this was opened for traffic in 1892. In 1891 the Company sought for power to construct a line ninety-eight miles in length from Annesley

through Nottingham to Quainton Road, thence running over the Metropolitan line to London. They were, however, unsuccessful. In the following year an enlarged and improved scheme was submitted, supported by the Nottingham and other Corporations, which, after a very severe contest, was approved by Parliament, and finally passed in 1893. The first sod was cut on November 13th, 1894, the delay being partly owing to the great Coal Strike of 1893, and to the time taken in making financial arrangements.

Some of the works in our County were of a very heavy character. In an illustrated article in *The Railway Magazine* for April, 1899 (which the editor, Mr. G. A. Sekon, has kindly lent me), Mr.—now Sir—William Pollitt, then General Manager of the Great Central Company (the name having been changed from M. S. and L.), says: "The Bulwell viaduct, situate about three miles north of Nottingham, is three hundred and sixty yards in length, and has twenty-six arches. A steel bridge for four sets of rails passes over the River Trent at Nottingham, and sixty arches and bridges carrying the line through the heart of Nottingham, as well as three tunnels, viz., the Sherwood Rise, Mansfield Road, and Weekday Cross tunnels, six hundred, one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight, and two hundred and thirty yards respectively. A bridge over the Midland Railway, Nottingham, has a single span of one hundred and seventy feet." Mr. Edward Parry, of Nottingham, was the engineer for constructing the northern division of the line from Annesley to Rugby, and Messrs. Logan and Hemingway, Mr. Henry Lovett, and Messrs. Topham, Jones, and Railton were the contractors upon this division. The work was, and is, a credit to the Engineer, the Contractors, and the Company, of which Sir Edward Fraser, having been thrice Mayor of Nottingham, is a director.

The Great Central rendered good service to the people of Nottingham in that it awoke the City from a great depression in the value of property; it removed some shocking slums, which were a discredit; it opened out a most beautiful route to London, through lovely Buckinghamshire and other counties; it brought Chesterfield, Sheffield, Loughborough, and Leicester in point of time appreciably nearer to Nottingham; it caused the Great Northern to come up from London Road into the heart of the City, and the two companies combined built, under the direction of Mr. Parry, a magnificent Station, which is a distinct ornament; and they thus stimulated the

Midland to rival their joint Victoria Station by the erection of a handsome and commodious one; and they caused the erection by a separate company of a first class hotel—the Victoria Station Hotel—which has supplied a long felt want.

THE JOINT COMPANIES.

As many of the young people in the City have either not known, or have forgotten, some of the principal buildings that were removed on the making of the line through Nottingham, I will here call attention to a few of them. I had the honour of acting as the local agent of the Great Central Company, and afterwards, when the Great Northern decided to join, as local agent for both companies, in conjunction with gentlemen representing those companies. It was my business to buy the properties indicated by the engineer, as required for the works to be carried out by the contractors; to deal with the claims for compensation; to get the occupiers out of the premises purchased, and then to sell the building materials, and see that the ground was properly cleared. The work occupied over four years.

That was a strange experience, to ask for possession of a Town Hall, and to enter it—not in connection with the administration of justice, but to sell the seat where during successive centuries my lord Judge, the Recorder, and the Mayor, had presided; and the benches, where counsel had poured forth torrents of eloquence; and the panels, where the jurymen had said "Guilty!" or "Not Guilty!"; and the dock, where the trembling or defiant prisoner had stood; and the Council Chamber, where the City fathers had guided the municipal affairs; and the roof, which old histories tell us was "probably near seven hundred years old, and is framed not unlike that of Westminster, is perfectly sound, and therefore preserved"; and the prison that—or its predecessors—had been there since the days of King John; and the approaches to the cells, down which John Howard went and which he exposed; and the stones, on which the condemned malefactors had carved their names, trying to while away the time before the execution of their sentence—the whole to be put under the auctioneer's hammer—"Going! Going! Gone!" and the Town Hall was no more. It may be named that Mr. Widdowson was the purchaser, the clock went to Messrs.

Perry's factory at Radford, and portions of the roof were made into walking sticks.

Somewhat akin to this was the feeling of entering the church of St. Stephen, not for the purpose of worship, but to sell all the materials except those connected with the communion rail and its adjuncts. Good old Prebendary Macdonald, Vicar ("Incumbent" it was called in those days) of Holy Trinity Church, thought that he could influence and benefit the dwellers in the crowded streets and courts where the Central Station now stands by building a church in a yard, and he succeeded by the power of personal influence; but some people carped at the effort, and a skit that attracted some temporary attention said:—

> "Broad-cloth to worship at the Steeple still,
> And fustian bow to God on Bunker's Hill."

An explanation is necessary that from Clumber Street to where the railway crosses there was in the centre of Parliament Street a row of houses and shops standing over the site of the old Town Wall, which wall was exposed when the railway was cut through. This row of houses was called Parliament Row, and the northern side of it was the street called Bunker's Hill. It may be worth noting that the principal window of the church went to adorn a "barracks" of the Salvation Army.

The case of the Joint Stock Bank in Victoria Street was one of peculiar difficulty, for the tunnel must go right under the bank and its strong room. The directors could not consent to the risk, both personal and financial, of the works going on at the same time as the business, although the engineer assured them it would be as safe as before. It therefore became necessary to purchase temporary premises—where Mr. Robinson's emporium now is—and fit them up, which work was carried out by Mr. Robert Evans, and then to purchase a site for a permanent building, where the London City and Midland Bank now stands.

The jump from a bank to a workhouse we must inevitably take. In the buildings of that workhouse there was housed a great mass of unfortunate humanity—the aged, the infirm, the sick, the half-witted, the tramps. The Guardians rented two factories, one in Great Freeman Street, and the other at New Basford, until permanent premises could be erected. The

building was so vast, and the work so great, that the workhouse was taken down by instalments at succeeding dates. It seemed a pity to pull down a huge building that had been erected only about fifty years before, when St. Mary's Workhouse on Mansfield Road (part of which is still standing near the offices of the Nottingham Brewery Co.) was superseded, and the choice of a new building lay between Sherwood Rise and York Street; but the latter prevailed, for it was felt it would be cruel to the poor to take them to such an out-of-the-way place as Sherwood Rise then was, and had Bagthorpe then been proposed the indignation would have been more pronounced than even with regard to Sherwood Rise. In the York Street building, however, classification and separation were impossible.

Twenty public houses were swept away, the most famous one being the Shakespeare, opposite the Mechanics' Hall. The claims for compensation in most of these cases were contested, and among other peculiarities may be named the necessity of employing musical talent for the purpose of attracting people, in order to induce them to drink.

A multitude of shops were demolished—grocers, drapers, boot stores—every variety; eating houses and pie making establishments, some of which were not remarkable for their cleanliness; sweetmeat manufactories carried on in attics; fried fish emporiums, where a colouring material had to supply the lack of freshness and give an attractive look to please the eye; bacon curing establishments in dingy basements; rag and bone assorting rooms, a visit to which caused lively feelings afterwards; laundries, in which clothes and children, and steam and soap suds were strangely mixed up; bird-fanciers and showmen were among the dispossessed.

There was a Wesleyan Chapel in St. Ann's Street that had degenerated into a vaccination station. Of the old Methodist Chapel in Octagon Place (so called from the shape of the building) only its name and its unseen burial ground remained. The places where Nottingham pottery had been made were disclosed, but the makers and their works had long passed away. A Ragged School, built by the goodness of John Smith Wright, Esq., had provided a useful education for the poorest children long before popular education was thought of, and had also been a benevolent centre for social work among the poor, but it had to be pulled down before the purchase forms were complete.

Perhaps the most notable shop removed was that of Messrs. Bass and Wilford in Parliament Street, which had previously been the residence of William and Mary Howitt, who there commenced the literary labours which resulted in the issue of a great number of works, a mere catalogue of which would fill one or two pages, and which were of great interest and profit to a past generation.

The houses destroyed included every variety of size and shape, huddled together without regard to air, or space, or light—the small lonely room, or pair of rooms, and the big lodging house. The tenants differed even more than the houses, and many of them quitted with great regret. "I was born here, and have lived here all my life" was a common remark, and it seemed a strange comment on the demand which is supposed to exist for healthier homes when in little dark places people expressed the wish to be let alone, for they wanted to live and die there.

"You'll get nowt from the Company unless you play 'em!" was the remark one claimant was overheard to make, and in some notable instances "play 'em" they did. The ideas of values were wondrously developed, and the claims for compensation were simply marvellous. A mortgagee who could neither get his interest nor realize his security, when paid wanted compensation for the loss of his investment, in that he would have to put out his money in future at four per cent. instead of five per cent. specified in the past. An owner whose predecessors in title had one hundred years before sold the adjoining land, but not the ground on which the street stood, claimed for the sand under the street, but failed to convince the arbitrator of his right.

There was much of human nature came out in the claims, some of them being of the most unreasonable character, and, on the other hand, it was a pleasure to come across a man like good old Alderman Woodward, who said: "You will cut my works in two, and I could make you pay for the whole, but I shall take no advantage of the company. Pay me what is fair and reasonable for the damage you will do—I ask no more." Singular to relate, one man asked (and obtained!) *less* than the estimated value of his property.

The antiquated system of summoning jurors to assess the claims for compensation was peculiar. Fifty jurors must have notice that their services would probably be required.

Their names and addresses were then printed, and supplied to each party. The parties assembled had to object to thirty—each party objecting alternately. Twenty of those left were then summoned : only twelve could serve, and the first called acted, and the others were told they were not required. Each man serving received £1 a day.

And now, although Charlotte Street and Caroline Yard, Mount East Street and Balloon Court, Sherwood Lane and Lamb Lane, Pleasant Square and Milk Place, Salmon Yard and Bear Court, with a multitude of other delectable names and dwellings, have disappeared, and five or six thousand people were displaced, the City has a Station that is at once an ornament and a public convenience—a social necessity that makes one wonder how we managed before its erection.

The London and North-Western. The London and North-Western have, with the Great Northern, a joint line from Saxondale, running through the Vale of Belvoir in the Melton Mowbray direction, and with running powers over the Great Northern line to the Low Level Station at Nottingham.

Combination. And at length, after enormous waste in the contests for promoting and opposing rival schemes, and great loss by the running of competing trains on lines having the same origin and destination, and useless expense in duplicate offices and staffs, the railway companies are adopting a more common-sense policy of doing away with what is called "cut-throat competition," and let us hope that by the Great Northern and the Great Central joining in co-operative effort on the one hand, and the Midland and the London and North-Western on the other, the public convenience will not suffer, or the public charges be increased, while great waste will be prevented—and waste, in whatever direction, is wrong, and sooner or later brings a penalty.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

OUR COAL.

The more a thoughtful mind reflects upon the origin of the coal under our feet, the more marvellous does it become. From four hundred to one thousand yards and more below where we stand may have been once upon a time the surface on which rank vegetation was growing; consequently, where we now stand may then have been four hundred to one thousand yards or more in the air. Our standing ground may have been raised up, and alternately have sunk down, and been for the time being at the bottom of the sea. The vast periods required for the formation of the coal beds is not the only marvel, but that such periods of growth of vegetation should be succeeded by periods of overwhelming deposits covering the vegetation up, and the deposits again be succeeded by vegetation growths, so forming newer coal beds and newer coverings, the mind reels at the vastness of the periods, and the greatness and violence of the operations resulting in what we call the geological formations under our feet.—See page 7.

Coming from the illimitable past to modern times, according to an article in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, "the first documentary evidence of the employment of English coal is that afforded by a grant of lands which was made in 853 A.D. by the Abbey of Peterborough, and 386 years later a licence to dig for coal was granted to the good men of Newcastle by King Henry III."

There being no proper provision of chimneys to carry off the smoke, the use of coal was regarded with intense dislike. In 1257, Henry III. going to Chester, left the Queen at Nottingham, but she found it impossible to stay there by reason of the smoke from the sea coal. So the Queen left for Tutbury. . . . . If this coal were not local, then it would be in fact sea coal brought from Newcastle to the Humber, and then up by the Trent.—E. Green in *Archæological Proceedings*, 1901, p. 378.

Edward II. (1307-27) received a petition from Parliament against the black smoke which resulted from the use of coal, the petition saying that "if His Majesty had any love for a fair garden, a clean face, or a clean shirt and ruff, and if he

did not wish his subjects to be choked, or at the very least to be smoked into bad hams, to forbid all use of the new and pestilent fuel called coal." The King therefore issued a proclamation forbidding its use.—*A. D. Barber.*

In the Nottingham Borough Records there is a copy of a transfer of a coal mine at Cossall in 1348. The minerals are called "sea-coal and culmo."

In 1483 there is recorded a bond from Elisha Dey of Watnowe Cauntcliff, Notts., husbandman, to Richard Ody of Nottingham, draper, for the delivery of ten wain-loads of coals called "Pytte Coles" every wain-load containing a whole "roke" of coals of Selston Pitte.—p. 421.

In 1468 the jurors presented that Thos. Marshall, corvisor (shoemaker), at Sandeclyff, in Nottingham, forestalled four cart loads of sea-coal, not permitting those coals to be lead and carried to the King's Market of Nottingham.—p. 265.

In *Nottingham Caves and Nottinghamshire Coal*, Mr. A. Stapleton gives a quotation from Camden's *Britain*, 1610: "Wollaton is rich in vienes of cole where Sir Francis Willoughby, a knight nobly descended from the Greis, Marques Dorset, in our dais built out of the ground with great charges [yet for the most part levied out of his cole-pits] a stately house with artificiall workmanship, standing bleakely, but offering a very goodly prospect to the beholders far and neere."

The Common Council of Nottingham in 1630 evidently had a desire to become colliery proprietors by getting the coal under the great wood to the north of the Town, called "the Coppice," so it is recorded that "maister Maior, maister James, maister Nixe and maister Greaves thatt haue nowe Vndertaken to sincke a pitt or pitts in the townes woods and wasts, in hope [by the favours of god] to fynde coales there, and all others thatt shall nowe before the worke begynne, adventure a partt or proporcion of monie shall have oute of the workes and Coales, for everie XXs laied oute V.li, [for 20 shillings, £5] and soe after that rate, and thatt after the worke begin, none shall be admitted to adventure in anie wise . . . . . and everie one adventuringe vpon the sale of the Coles soe gotten, to be allowed for theire monies adventured after the Rates of fyue pounds for everie XXs soe adventured."—*B. R.*, 144. Apparently they thought it desirable to limit the profit to five hundred per cent.

If anybody could have told "Maister Maior" and his comrades that they would have to sink—not the depth of a common quarry, but four hundred and fifty-seven yards (the depth at Gedling) before they arrived at the coal, they certainly would not have bargained as to the sale of the coal before they had got it.

The Borough Records are silent as to the result. It was not the business of the Council as to whether the speculators realized to the full extent the chickens they had counted, or that the scheme was a failure. It must, however, have been a failure, for when nineteen years had passed away the next scheme was to be for the Town, and not for speculators, and a new pit was to be sunk, showing that there must have been an old one.

On February 14th, 1648-9, the Council passed a resolution for Maister Cooper to tamper—*i.e.*, deal secretly—with Maister Jackson "how hee wold deale about it to suffer the Towne to gett coale."—p. 239. They went on until the following January, when they appointed three of their number "to confer with men of Judgment and such as they like of, and vse indevors and meanes to discover whether or noe there bee any coles in the Copies and to be allowed for yr paines and charges therein."—p. 264. A very wise resolution, but why did they not take this course before?

On May 7, 1650: "Coales. It is agreed yat ye parties imploied by ye Towne proceed further to try for Coales by sincking A new pitt, and otherwaies as shall bee fitt."—p. 265.

An unwise resolution, and on September 6th they resolved: "Coales. Resolued by this Company in respect of ye water and the greatnes of the charge in sinckinge, that the pitts be sunck noe deeper, and that soe soone as may bee, they make triall by boareinge whether coales or noecoales in ye Coppice."—p. 272.

Oh! gentlemen of the Council, that was bad business! To sink first and bore afterwards was nearly as bad as leaping before looking, and worse than putting the cart before the horse.

The Coppice was at that time a great wood of big oaks, with underwood, and the timber necessary to support the pit sides had been cut down in the wood for use.

The final resolution was come to evidently in despair : "1650. November 7. *Pitts.* Agreed, ye pitts to be covered ; or else some to take ye wood for yr labor to fill them upp." And so the Corporation did not become colliery proprietors. Probably, however, the coal will some day be found under the very site, but four hundred yards lower than the depth to which they had sunk.

Mr. Bailey, writing in 1855, says "the site of these pits is still easily discernable."—p. 298. I cannot hear of anyone who knows of the site, but up Hendon Rise, Wells Road, on the western side between Rose Villas and Mr. H. Genders' house, there looks to be a very likely spot. It was, before building operations, a pond by a cliff, with overhanging trees.

Another suggested site is to the south of the Suburban Railway bridge crossing the Wells Road. This, however, is open to the objection that it is located in Sneinton parish, and looks like a disused stone quarry. St. Ann's Well was close to the north of the bridge.

There is a curious incident recorded in Dickenson's *Southwell*, showing how the wish was father to the thought. "The Chapter of Southwell in the year 1785 made an enquiry into the depth of the seam of coal which lies under this parish, when it appeared that the average thickness was nine feet ; that an acre or 4,840 yards would produce 14,520 dozens of coal, worth £3,811."—p. 139. It would be interesting to know of whom the "enquiry" was made, and to whom the nine feet thickness "appeared." It was merely a "counting of chickens," for one hundred and twenty or more years afterwards it would still be a great pleasure to the owners of land to know for surety that there is any coal whatever within profitable working depth.

When it was first proposed to make a railway from Nottingham to Mansfield and Worksop, a witness before a Parliamentary Committee, who was familiar with the country between the towns named, was asked as to the prospects of a railway there, and replied : "I should say it would not pay a farthing per cent." At that period, and for many years afterwards, it was not known how vast are the mineral resources of that valley. In 1868, however, Sir Roderick Murchison, who had more than once visited the Newstead and Hucknall district, expressed the opinion : "I believe that in all that country you will certainly find a very good coalfield ; but," he

added, "these rich proprietors will never hear of having coal-pits sunk near them."—*Williams.* Sir Roderick was a splendid geologist, but he was not sufficient student of human nature to foresee that mineral royalties could overcome repugnance to smoke.

Some statistics from the Report of the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies may be of interest:—

Depths. The depth of coal at

Shireoaks	to Top Hard is	513	yards.
Manton	„	718	„
Whitwell (Derbyshire)	„	370	„
Creswell „	„	445	„
Langwith	„	540	„
Warsop	„	528	„
Sherwood	„	434	„
Kirkby	„	349	„
Newstead	„	490	„
Linby	„	429	„
Bestwood	„	414	„
Gedling	„	457	„

—From map referred to in Mr. A. Currer Briggs' Report, Cd. 2361.

The cost of sinking and of fitting up a colliery is great. From £100,000 and £200,000 may be spent, and working several years without profit may have to be risked.

Output. The output of coal in the County of Nottingham was in 1873 - 2,890,929 tons.
1883 - 5,315,880 „
1893 - 5,328,838 „ (Coal Strike.)
1903 - 8,703,025 „ —p. 75.

Value. The average value per ton at the pits mouth was in 1883 - 5s. 7·50d.
1893 - 6s. 9·51d.
1903 - 7s. 7·93d.—p. 81.

Un-got. The Geological Committee estimate the Concealed and Unproved Coal fields at depths less than four thousand feet, as far as they are capable of being estimated, for Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire at 23,000,000,000 tons. —Cd. 2361, p. 3.

The *available* coal, according to the Report of Mr. A. Currer Briggs, is in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, 7,360,725,100 tons.—Cd. 2357, p. 2.

Exports. The quantity of coal exported from the United Kingdom increased from 16,077,000 tons in 1873 to 29,440,000 in 1883, 37,488,000 in 1893, and 63,805,000 in 1903.—Royal Commission Report, Cd. 2363, p. 56. We retained for consumption in 1903, 166,532,000 tons.—p. 60.

According to a return issued by the Board of Trade showing the exports of coal from each of the ports of the United Kingdom to each of the foreign countries, as well as to British possessions, there was sent out of the country in 1906, exclusive of bunker coal, 55,600,000 tons, and adding bunker coal 18,590,000 tons, giving together 74,190,000.

The coal exported from the Humber Ports of Hull, Goole and Grimsby, was in 1904 3,197,112 tons.—p. 115.

The wisdom or otherwise of exporting our coal is viewed from different standpoints. One class say we are enormously increasing our exports of coal, and we point with pride to our continued trade expansion ; but are we wise in sending out of the country to such a vast and constantly increasing extent our coal, which is our capital ? If we can increase the exports of our stockings and lace, we are benefiting the world ; if we can grow more corn and cattle we are benefiting ourselves ;—but in parting with our coal we are impovering our descendants, and weakening the value of our accumulated property. Oh ! but we are increasing our mineral royalties and our wages ! Yes, and our children of the future may say : "God Almighty provided a valuable deposit for the good of succeeding ages. You, for your own present advantage, parted with it. It is now gone. We can neither manufacture goods to export, nor build ships, nor find cargo. We have gone 'back to the land' with a vengeance !" Unfortunately these questions are regarded from a political party standpoint, and not from the high level of ultimate public good. A shilling a ton was put on coal exported, and apparently other people had to pay for it, but it was taken off for political reasons. "We must have free trade." Of course we must, but we must not cut off the possibility of our children having coal to trade with. "What has posterity done for us ?" The answer is simple. Our forefathers planted apple trees for us, and we

eat the fruit : we must plant trees for our children, or we shall be cursed for our own selfishness.

There is also the consideration of the fact that the sending of coal out of the country increases the cost price to the inland manufacturer and householder, as the retention of the coal in England would diminish the price.

The question has many sides, and all must be looked at, so let us turn to the evidence of a colliery proprietor and mining engineer.

Mr. Emerson Bainbridge, who is connected with various collieries in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere, deposed before the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies that the value of a tax on coal exported was discounted by the decrease in the profit in the coal trade, by the fall of prices due to coal being kept inland (at which the inland manufacturer and householder would rejoice). He said the effect of the tax had been to cause a drop in the German, Belgian, French and Dutch markets of over 3,600,000 tons, comparing 1900 with 1902, causing a reduction in miners' wages and bringing down the price to a serious degree. Part, however, of the decrease was due to the badness of trade, but the diminution in prices would cause some collieries to be worked at a loss. The diminution in exports would injure the shipping industry. He had not the least doubt but that between now and two or three hundred years hence the development of science in various ways would help to make up for the diminution in fuel. He thought that if the exchequer gained two millions a year by the tax, nearly all of it would be lost by the reduction in the income tax paid by colliery proprietors and shipping owners. To check any industry by putting on the tax does harm to the whole country. He thought the tax had been borne by the coal owner, the miner, the shipper, and the buyer. From every point of view he thought the tax dangerous, uneconomic, and unwise.

We must leave to Parliament the settlement of those conflicting claims of colliery proprietors, royalty owners, miners, railway companies, ship owners, and foreigners on the one hand, and householders, local manufacturers, gas companies, etc., and posterity on the other, and turn to express our sympathy with the miners in their risky occupation. It is gratifying that methods have been developed of greatly lessening the risk to the lives, and injury to the

health, of miners, and Nottinghamshire wives will rejoice that the risk is not so great locally as elsewhere. It may be the comparative fewness of accidents here arises to some extent from the great care exercised by both masters and men, as well as from less inflammability.

May we further express the hope that a way may be discovered, by mutual contribution and arrangement, for each miner to have the facility for having a warm bath or wash, and a change of dry clothes at the pit mouth, instead of walking or riding miles with a dirty face and wet shirt. The provision would be worth the cost, and the comfort worth paying for.

And dare we venture to express the hope that from one of our colliery villages there may arise some local Father Matthew—or rather, some magnified Matthew Hayes, or James Flanagan, who will exclaim : "By the help of God these Friday and Saturday nights shall be changed for the better! The children yet unborn shall not be weakened in body and mind by their parents' drinking habits, and our present children injured by bad examples!" And, failing the one man, may we hope that the men who are thrifty, enlightened, and philanthropic, will say : "We will address ourselves to the work." And, failing the men, may we appeal to the women, who by combined effort will be sure to prevail, and make our colliery villages models of sobriety, thrift, and beautiful homes, or at least having beautiful children, with the infantile mortality diminished, preventible diseases banished, and instead, a strong, vigorous class of bonny, well trained lads and lasses, with the rose in place of the bull-pup, the garden having covered the heap of ashes, and happy, prosperous families and homes established in the land!

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

OUR WATER SUPPLY.

We require for all purposes in a thoroughly well equipped modern town about thirty gallons of water per head per day, and the quantity required is increasing, owing not merely to an increasing population, but also to various social requirements.

Our local supply is, however, diminishing, and what is worse, we are guilty of perpetuating an enormous waste, while the danger of losing our existing supply is increasing.

Let us look the facts in the face. The following list shows our urban, as distinguished from our rural population. The population as estimated in 1908 has been kindly supplied me by Dr. Boobbyer, the City Medical Officer of Health, so far as the City is concerned, and by Dr. Handford, the County Medical Officer of Health, as to the County places, and it will indicate how much more water is now, and in the hereafter will be required than has been in the past :—

TOWN.	POPULATION IN 1901.	ESTIMATED POPULATION IN 1908.
Nottingham	239,753	260,449
Mansfield	21,445	30,750
Worksop	16,112	18,644
Hucknall	15,250	17,000
Newark	14,992	16,500
Sutton	14,862	19,065
Retford	12,340	13,350
Kirkby	10,318	16,052
Carlton	10,041	14,979
Beeston	8,960	12,046
Arnold	8,757	10,417
West Bridgford ...	7,018	10,755
Mansfield Woodhouse ...	4,877	9,200
Eastwood	4,815	5,200
Huthwaite	4,076	4,810
Warsop	2,132	3,860
Totals	395,748	463,077

Add to the foregoing the requirements of our village or rural population, numbering in 1901 118,721 persons, and an enormous total will be arrived at. To this must be added a very large quantity required for the working of our canals, the water for which is always running into the Trent.

The increase of population is such that Dr. Handford estimates if the rate of increase during the last census period continues, the population of Nottinghamshire in 1941 will be 922,868, as against 514,459 in 1901.

Mr. W. B. Bryan, the Water Engineer, recently testified that the demand for water supplied by the Nottingham Corporation had risen from a population of 181,000 in 1881, to 344,000 in 1908.

Supply. God Almighty has provided our County with an abundant supply, firstly in our rivers, and secondly in the natural reservoir below the Sherwood Forest district. There is a wonderful system of Water Works, where by the action of the sun the water is drawn up from the sea all around our Island, and then, whatever the direction of the wind, it blows some of the clouds over our County, and there lets the rain fall on the land. Also such as is not required by the greater part of Derbyshire, and large parts of Staffordshire and Leicestershire, with portions of other counties, is sent down by a multitude of streams and rivers into the Trent, and so passes from end to end of our County. Yet these streams are allowed to be polluted by all kinds of mining impurities, such as from washing coke ; the refuse of various industries, such as bleaching, dyeing, leather dressing, bone works, breweries, and the like ; and, worse still, the sewage of many of our villages and towns is sent direct into the river or its connections, to the killing of our fish, injury to our cattle, and a standing danger to human health.

Mr. Urquhart A. Forbes, in an able article on "The Water Supply of the United Kingdom" in *The Quarterly Review* for October, 1907, says : "The Derwent, whose water is said to be 'perfectly pure,' is rendered totally unfit for the passage of salmon by the drainage of Derby ; the Tame, coming from Birmingham and Wolverhampton, is reported as being 'a perfect sewer from top to bottom.'" Add to this all the impurities that are poured into the Trent at Burton, all the deleterous matter sent into the Erewash down the whole of its course, especially as it passes Ilkeston ; then add all that the Leen has to bear before it is poured into the Canal, and thence into the Trent—and it will be seen what a wonderful work of purification has to be carried on as the Trent descends to the sea.

Sherwood Forest. Let us look at our underground supply. Running through the heart of our County from Nottingham Castle to the extreme north is a natural basin of red sandstone, four or five hundred feet thick or more; on the western side there is a bank of coal measures and carboniferous stone; on the eastern side is a bank of marl, called the Keuper Marls; underneath are the carboniferous stone and the coal measures, so formed that they hold the water above. This basin is filled with sandy rock, which acts like a sponge holding water, for between the myriads of particles of sand there are myriads of spaces holding water. What are we doing to protect this invaluable deposit—invaluable because vital to our welfare? There are being worked or sunk a number of coal mines that go right through the sand deposit into and through the carboniferous beds and coal measures, and in the process of sinking millions of gallons of water are being wasted that the mining engineer does not want, and which he has to pump away in order to get rid of it, and it is nobody's business to care for the wasted water, or use it. Furthermore, every coal mine is liable by its operations to crack the bottom of the basin by the subsidence of the strata, and to let out some portion of the stored water, which, sinking into the coal measure, is polluted and lost.

This is an increasing difficulty, for every colliery operation is adding to the danger; and this will go on, as may be seen by the extensive developments at Worksop, Mansfield Woodhouse and Forest Town, Gedling, and elsewhere, and now it is stated that Blidworth is likely to have its coal developed in two directions.

Mr. Bryan stated before a Parliamentary Committee that the Works at Basford, which formerly yielded 2,750,000 gallons per day, yielded last year only 1,670,00 per day.

Rainfall. Along with this is another element to be taken into consideration—our rainfall has greatly diminished. That unwearied worker for the public good, Mr. Mellish, in *The Weather at Hodsock, Worksop, for 1905*, shows the rainfall for thirty years—1876 to 1905, in the first half of which period ten years were above the average and five below, but of the latter half, four were above the average, and eleven below it. Taking it in periods of five years, the first being 1876 to 1880, the mean fall was 29·35; then 25·97; 22·61; 23·22; 23·28; and the five years 1901 to 1905, 21·81 inches.

1906 gave 23·43, and 1907 23·66. The average will probably recover in the future.

Our upper streams are diminishing, either by the lessened rainfall, the draining of land, the pumping for present supplies, the waste at collieries, or the letting out of water at the bottom of the basin by colliery operations, or otherwise.

That excellent man, the late Vicar of Blidworth, the Rev. R. H. Whitworth, informed me that the Dover Beck in ancient times ran through Blidworth, and now its flow has so diminished that the stream appears only four miles off.

If our plantations disappear, our rainfall will probably lessen.

Waste. It is scarcely to be credited that with such a state of affairs a shocking waste is continually going on : nevertheless it is said to be a fact that the laundries, bleach works, breweries, jam factories, and other business concerns which require much water, and have frequently a pumping apparatus on their own premises, having pumped the water for their special requirements, then turn it into the sewer, and this process is said to involve a waste of several millions of gallons per day.

A Scramble. To aggravate existing evils, other localities are now seeking to abstract water from our County. Lincoln has obtained power to take three million gallons a day for thirty-five years from near Boughton on the north-east, and it is rumoured that probably some Yorkshire Authority may attack us on the north-west. At frequently recurring periods we are spending money in parliamentary contests. An Authority wants to increase its powers or its supply, and other Authorities oppose it, and spend the rate-payers' money on the laudable object of paying counsels' fees in promoting or opposing this scramble for water.

An Enquiry. What are we doing, in view of the evils referred to? A scheme is now being carried out by the Derwent Water Board whereby at a cost of over £7,000,000 provision will be made, after eight years' work, to supply Derby, Leicester, Sheffield and Nottingham with rainfall water. Our City will obtain the proportion of $\frac{4}{33}$rds. (of 33,000,000 gallons), and our County may take a fourth of this share, if it applies before 1930, which may be a relief to

certain parishes on the western side of the County. But so far as I am aware there has been no definite scientific, commercial and judicial enquiry as to the requirements of the entire County and City, as to the agricultural, and manufacturing, and domestic needs, as to the sources and resources of supply, and in the many aspects that are presented by an urban and rural, a residential, commercial, mining, and agricultural population. This seems to be one of the first needs. Of course, there have been parliamentary enquiries upon particular bills, in which experts, with their usual ability, have shown unlimited resources, or immediate exhaustion, according as the fees were paid. This, however, is not what is wanted.

Water Board. Clearly, an Authority ought to be clothed with power to deal with the existing and future demands and supplies, the prevention of waste and pollution, both in surface streams and rivers, and in manufacturing concerns. The latter must, of course, be dealt with considerately and equitably, as must also landowners and farmers in detached places.

Whether such Board should be a new creation, or a combination of existing City and County Authorities, with representation from present water supplying Authorities, and what the extent of its powers or area of operation should be, it is no part of my business to enter upon. Enough that attention is called to the evil, and to the need for immediate remedy.

Note.—The foregoing paper had been written before the appearance of a "Report upon the Water Supplies of Nottinghamshire," presented by Dr. Handford, the County Medical Officer, to the County Council. I congratulate Dr. Handford upon his report, so full of facts, clearly stated, and setting forth the vital importance of the question of our Water Supply, and the need for all parties concerned acting in concert for the prevention of a great calamity—the ultimate shortage of water.

I copy from Dr. Handford's report a few items of interest not dealt with in the foregoing paper :—

"The district south of Mansfield is being over-pumped. So is the district between Mansfield and Ollerton.

The water pumped at Boughton costs the Nottingham Corporation 2d. per thousand gallons; the water from the Derwent will cost 10d.

The amount of water already being pumped from twenty-three wells named in our County is 15,073,230 gallons a day.

The Papplewick-Basford area is being pumped to the extent of 758,000 gallons a day more than the absorbed rainfall.

Nottinghamshire suffers from enteric fever more seriously than the large majority of counties, and the most important step towards diminishing the evil is the use of water closets. 53,000 additional ones will require 1,265,000 gallons of water per day extra.

Dr. Handford gives a list of the parishes having a constant supply of water, the population being ... 254,540
Persons unsupplied at present, but who can demand a supply upon certain conditions 20,583
No prospect of supply—namely, the remainder of the County 52,197

327,320."

This is exclusive of the City.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

It will be interesting for us to trace the growth of the power of the people in regard to social condition, personal rights, and parliamentary control. We shall begin with the King being absolute, and the people without legal rights, and we shall end by Parliament removing a King, settling the royal succession, and appointing a King to carry out its directions. We shall begin with every man being under sovereign control, and we shall end by every man having equal rights in the eyes of the law. Surely this thorough revolution is worth the trouble of tracing, as for every right enjoyed in modern times somebody has had to suffer. The rights of the people have been won by a persistent overcoming

of obstacles, and a perseverance under the greatest discouragement, but now, being obtained, rights involve duties, and power obtained must be used for the public good.

Whatever legal rights the people had under Saxon and Danish rule, they were largely terminated by the Norman Conquest. The system devised by the Conqueror was in such form that he gave the land to his followers upon condition that they swore to become his supporters with life and limb, and to faithfully and loyally serve him, as and when required. He was therefore entitled to call upon them for military service in any wars or occasion he might have. This gave him an army for both defensive and offensive emergencies. The King's tenant, whom we should call the landlord, then bound his sub-tenant, the actual farmer, in like manner to hold the land for him, and to do the work for him, plowing his land, sowing and reaping his corn, and such like, without payment in coin or kind, or with a limited or restricted consideration, and the sub-tenant was further bound to the King, and obligations to the Crown became customs that were rigidly enforced. Three times a year the tenant must appear at the King's Court and pay the King's dues.

In Saxon times the difference between villeins and serfs was considerable, but under Norman rule they were treated as much alike, and several hundred years passed before these social disadvantages were swept away.

Norman Traders. One result of the Conquest was that Norman traders came over in great numbers, and settled in towns such as Nottingham and Newark. The Norman noble would require the workers in wood, stone, and iron, such as he had been accustomed to in Normandy, and here he would not find them. The northern nations had few ideas of beauty in structure. They preferred the country to the towns, and utility rather than art. Scarcely any beautiful old churches will be found in North Germany or Denmark, Sweden or Norway. The architecture was poor, and the buildings ugly; but go to Normandy and Brittany, and you will find beauty almost divine in the churches of eight hundred years ago. They are unfortunately above the present condition of the people, and there never ought to be a great disparity between the house of God and the social condition of the people. The one may be what David called "exceedingly magnifical," but if it be so, the people ought not to have to dwell in thatched hovels.

The building of churches, castles, and manor houses, the improved clothing of the new comers, their furniture, saddlery, tools, and everything connected with the altered conditions, caused skilled tradesmen and artizans to come and develop their skill. This, of course, occasioned jealousy, and the wall built to divide Nottingham Market Place showed the intensity of the feeling; but good came out of the movement, for the settlement in towns enabled the people to demand or ask, and the King to grant, charters giving powers to the municipalities and traders to develop their trades, and regulate them by the formation of guilds, who controlled quality, skill, price, etc. Thus, King Henry II. about 1155 confirmed the charter given by his grandfather to the Burgesses of Nottingham, giving them free customs, with various other privileges, including the control of the Trent.—See p. 228. These and like privileges would ultimately tend to benefit the entire County, giving as they did protection from unreasonable lords, with fixity of tenure, and the right to be tried by their equals. Henry II. introduced a system for tenants commuting the obligation to military service by a money payment, called scutage, or shield money. He also sent judges on circuit, and appointed lawyers' sheriffs, instead of the office being exercised by great nobles. Practically he introduced trial by jury.

The rights and privileges wrested by the nobles from John were for the benefit, not only of themselves, but for the people generally. The struggles with the Popes and foreign ecclesiastics, who drained the resources of the nobles and people, helped to develop the national spirit. The coming of the Friars was welcomed, as being a deliverance from the wicked abuses prevailing, and from the ignorance of the common priests. The establishment of the Court of Chancery at the end of the thirteenth century by Edward I. was a distinct advantage, by enabling the judges to try cases equitably according to the merits of each case, and not merely by the letter of the law, as the older courts had done. The Statute of Mortmain prevented the land being handed over to the religious bodies without rendering its due service to the State. As a protection against robbers, it was ordered that the brushwood growing within two hundred feet of any highway should be cut down. Conservators, or justices of the peace, were appointed in every shire. In 1290 an Act was passed which operated in promoting the sale, transfer, and sub-division of land, and largely increased the number of freeholders and their importance. In 1294, the precedent set

in 1264 of summoning to Parliament not only two knights of the shire, but also two burgesses from all the principal towns, made parliamentary representation a reality that has continued since, and in 1295 there went from our County to Westminster Gervasius de Clifton and Johannes de Annesley, while Johannes de Fleming and Willielmus de Hardeby were the burgesses of the Town.

The English. Language After the plague of 1349 in all the grammar schools of England children began to be taught, not in French, but in English, and in 1362 English was ordered to be used in the law courts, "because the French tongue is much unknown." In the following year Parliament was opened in English, bishops began to preach in it, Wycliffe's tracts were distributed in it. "Under the first Edward, the Parliament had vindicated its right to the control of taxation; under the second it had advanced from the removal of ministers to the deposition of a King; under the third it gave its voice on questions of peace and war, controlled expenditure, and regulated the course of civil administration. The vigour of English life showed itself socially in the wide extension of commerce, in the rapid growth of the woollen trade, and the increase of manufactures after the settlement of Flemish weavers on the eastern coast; in the progress of the towns, fresh as they were from the victory of the craft-guilds; and in the development of agriculture through the division of lands and the rise of the tenant farmer and the freeholder. It gave nobler signs of its activity in the spirit of natural independence and moral earnestness which awoke at the call of Wycliffe. New forces of thought and feeling, which were destined to tell in every age of our later history, broke their way through the crust of feudalism in the social revolt of the Lollards."—*Green.*

Hope. *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, written about 1370 by William Langland, shows the prejudice that then existed against the education of the children of the poor. He thinks that "bondmen and beggars' children belong to labour, and should serve lords' sons," and that things are much amiss when every cobbler sends "his son to schole," and "each beggars' brat" learns his book, "so that beggar's brat a Bishop that worthen among the peers of the land prese to sytten . . . . . and his sire a sowter [cobbler] y-soiled with grees, his teeth with toyling of lather battered as a saw."

The Vision of Piers Plowman reveals the views of the people of its time. It is a vision of the Christ—of right, duty, life, struggling through clouds and difficulties to get into the sunshine of God's love and liberty. The vision was inspiring, but the clouds were dense, and so long remained, for those terrible Wars of the Roses hindered the development of liberty, and were followed by violent interference with parliamentary control and judicial administration, owing to the arbitrary conduct of succeeding sovereigns.

Printing. The appearance of William Caxton in 1476, after having spent thirty-five years in Flanders, bringing with him the printing press and block letters, and the capacity to translate foreign books, of which thousands of pages were printed from his own rendering, overcoming enormous difficulties, brought a ray of light into the dark sky. At that time the language of each county differed from other counties almost as much as a foreign language, and therefore when printing was introduced it was very difficult to determine which was the English language.

Reformation. The battles of Bosworth Field and East Stoke brought peace, ended a long course of civil disturbances, and gave men the opportunity to read and think, and the new learning coming from abroad caused enquiry. Translations of the works of foreign writers, and translations of the Bible by Tyndale and others, set men a-thinking. Martin Luther denouncing Indulgences, and burning the Pope's Bull were not mere local events. Even the King (Henry VIII.) must begin and write in defence of old forms of belief, to be followed by the pendulum swinging in the opposite direction by his denying the Pope's right of interference in English affairs. It matters little to our present purpose as to what were the King's motives or action: the effect was that the minds of men were, to a limited extent, set free to think, and qualified to judge of facts, truths, and opinions, of which power they gradually availed themselves. The stirring times of Elizabeth further developed this power of thinking, and necessity for action, and the quality of private judgment, so that when James and Charles stood in the way the force of the torrent swept away the Monarchy. But men found it easier to pull down than to build up. Failure brought reaction, but the development of vice stimulated to action and recovery.

Habeas Corpus. One of the great securities of our liberties has proved to be an Act passed in the reign of Charles II., requiring all persons upon whom a writ was issued to bring up the body of any person detained in their keeping, under a penalty of £100. Any judge refusing to issue a writ forfeits £500. A writ so issued must be obeyed promptly. Evasion or removal ensures another penalty of £100. The result has been the prevention of false imprisonments, and any friend may apply to the court, and any person may take proceedings for non-compliance.

"The Habeas Corpus Acts," it has been remarked by Professor Dicey, "declare no principle and define no rights; but they are for practical purposes worth a hundred constitutional articles guaranteeing individual liberties." They give an injured man the power to help himself to freedom, and that is enough.

The Revolution. The debauchery, indolence, and corrupt government of Charles II. seems to have prepared the people, by shocking them, for a demand for liberty and good government, so that when James II. showed his evil designs for imitating the methods of his father and brother, the nation rose to its feet, and put its demands in no cringing petitions and fulsome flatteries, but in language about which there could be no mistake. Before the throne was formally offered to William and Mary, the Lords and Commons in the "Declaration of Rights" laid down in a schedule a list of the wrongs that had been done by the violation of constitutional government, and a full statement "vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties," declaring against any pretended power by regal authority of suspending laws, or dispensing with laws, or erecting courts, or levying taxes, or raising or keeping a standing army within the Kingdom in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. They claimed freedom of speech, and election, and to clinch their declaration they added the remarkable words: "*And they do claim, demand and insist upon all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties.*" They then proceeded to settle the question of the succession to the throne as it stands to-day. The King and Queen signed and swore to the Declaration, and the Lords and Commons made it permanent as the "Bill of Rights." This was an awful shock to the advocates of the Divine Rights of Kings, and Archbishop Bancroft and four other

prelates, and four hundred clergy, had to be removed from their preferments because they would not subscribe to it.

Here we must stop. There was much still to be gained, but the machinery was provided, and has worked to this day.

And so it comes to pass—that with all our mistakes, faults, and misfortunes, we are the freest nation on God's earth, for here a man has the right to do as he likes if only he likes to do right.

Newspapers. The liberty of the Press was not, however, secured until many years afterwards, and we really must take a stray run out of our way to look at a local event illustrating the bondage the Press was under. Here is a copy of *The Nottingham Review* in 1816. The stamp duty is 4d. on each paper, besides a tax on advertisements, and the cost of the paper and printing, 3d.—7d. for a paper such as we now get for a penny or a halfpenny. And here is the significant announcement of the editor, Charles Sutton, of Bridlesmith Gate: "May 13th, 1816, being the 13th week of his imprisonment"—that is, the paper was published although the proprietor and editor was in jail for inserting a letter which did not please the Government, and for which, being prosecuted he was sentenced to be imprisoned for one year in Northampton Jail, and then to give security for his good behaviour three years, himself in £500, and two sufficient sureties in £250 each. This Charles Sutton was the grandfather of Mr. R. C. Sutton, architect, Bromley House, Nottingham. Another grandson was Henry Septimus Sutton, who became a thinker, reformer, and poet of no mean order. In 1847-8 he published *The Evangel of Love*. *The Clifton Grove Garland* followed. He has a poem greatly admired, beginning:—

> "How beautiful it is to be alive!
> To wake each morn, as if the Maker's grace
> Did us afresh from nothingness derive,
> That we might sing: '*How happy is our case,*
> *How beautiful it is to be alive.*'"

He died at Worsley, near Manchester, in 1901.

Privilege brings with it responsibility, and as no longer are our laws made by an unconstitutional King, or by the Pope, or by tyrannical barons, but practically by the representatives of the people, elected by them, respect for law and authority is due to a greater extent than ever before.

Conscientiousness or Insubordination?

And yet there has been in recent years a singular development that is puzzling to a quiet observer, namely, a determination on the part of a number of good people to obstruct the administration of law on the ground of conscientious objection. This line of conduct obtains not among one class only, but several. For instance, it has been proved up to the hilt that vaccination tends to lessen the risk of the plague of small pox—formerly a great calamity to our people; but vaccination having been in some cases carelessly applied by medical men, and more carelessly dealt with by patients afterwards, occasional evils have occurred, whereupon conscientious objectors have sprung up wholesale, and refused to allow the law to be enforced, and in some places it is now declared to be almost a dead letter. Parliament passed an Act giving to Church schools the like contribution out of the rates that Board schools had, in addition to the contribution they had for many years received out of imperial taxation. Thereupon sprang up passive resistance to the payment of a portion of the rate, but without the same principle being applied to the payment of taxes. Many thousands of executions against goods were followed by sales, or sales in form, while some hundreds of persons went to prison rather than pay the rates. The tables appeared to be likely to be turned by the contribution by public authorities to Church schools being declared illegal, or by being prohibited; thereupon there were threats of Church people becoming passive resisters. The women called Suffragettes want to have votes, and thereupon have not merely said so, but have proceeded in public demonstration to bombard Parliament while sitting, and members of the Government at their offices and homes and meetings; while some have preferred to be carried out in the arms of policemen, who were assaulted while doing their duty in trying to keep order, and many women were imprisoned. "We did not have a voice in the making of the law, and we will not obey it" was the cry. Parliament passed the Act legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister, in like manner to what is prevailing generally in Europe, the United States, and in our Colonies. The Bishops opposed the Bill, as they had a perfect right to do, but when passed some of them urged the clergy not to comply with its provisions, and to refuse to marry such persons. In defiance of King, Lords, and Commons, Bishops of a National Church advising

non-compliance with national law! while some clergymen have actually gone to the extent of declaring that they will not only refuse to solemnize such marriages—as they have very properly the legal right to do, or to publish the banns, but will even refuse to allow the church, which is for sacred purposes the property of the parish, to be used for such marriages, and will refuse holy communion to the contracting parties! In another direction there are clergymen who accept the acts that deliver from the Pope's authority, yet, claiming the force of ancient usage and historical precedent, they refuse episcopal subjection, and own no laws except their own wills —many Popes instead of one! What next? What are we coming to? Is every person to take the ground: "I do not approve—I will not comply. I am not content with exercising my vote and voice in seeking for amendment or alteration—I will proceed further, and resist, or hinder, the administration of the law"? In the olden times, when the people had no voice in the making of laws, or in their administration, and brute force prevailed, things were different, but now we elect men to make laws for the government of the community, and to hinder the administration of law appears to be unworthy of law-abiding citizens. The difficulties of efficient administration are quite sufficient without there being added the political element of hindrance for the purpose of obtaining alteration.

Protection. The rights of the individual have now been so thoroughly secured that we need to give attention to the rights of society. We need protection from grasping men who enter into trusts and combinations against the welfare of the community in order to secure private gain. The men who "corner" wheat, or cotton, articles of food, or those things by which men obtain their livelihood, deserve seven years hard labour. We need protection against the man who chooses to get drunk, and thus makes himself a temporary lunatic. He must thereby subject himself to be deprived of his political rights. The rights of the dirty, negligent, vicious parents with regard to their children must be interfered with. The rights of owners of insanitary property must be curtailed, as must those that prevent the well-being of the community. Trades Unions have rendered great service, and are to be encouraged, but great care needs to be exercised that their action does not paralyze the industry of the nation; and when one man insists that another man shall join an organization, or shall starve, he becomes a tyrant

in a small way. We need protection from sensational newspapers, that endanger peace and good relationships with foreign powers, as if international good feeling was a matter for levity; and those which give disgusting details of dirty cases, or scandals, or lay hold of some silly Druce "cock and bull" stories, and hash them up day by day, until they are believed by the credulous; and those which systematically predict the winning of horses, when events prove that the predictions are false suggestions, dangerous to the welfare of the young. These are only examples, but they are indications of how liberty may degenerate into licence.

Obligations. So much has been done for the good of the community, that now society has its reasonable claims upon everybody for their contribution of service.

In *Rose's Diary and other Poems*, our late townsman, H. S. Sutton, well says:—

> "Unless I strive these people dear to bless
> I do not love my God. If I do seek
> No good or joy of theirs, but acquiesce
> In what makes weak the strong, or wrongs the weak,
> Myself of God's own love I dispossess."

And this obligation applies not merely to money, but to what is of far greater value—personal service. A man may so direct all his energies to grasping money, that at length the money grips him, and squeezes all capacity for enjoyment out of him; or he may live only for pleasure, and to all that is noble and great may be dead while he lives; but the man who would do his duty to God and his country, and to those around him, must regard the many claims to service. The direction of such service may be according to inclination and capacity. It may be in regard to local administration, or the calls of philanthropy, or some sphere in which the Church of God calls "Come over and help us"; but those calls are loud and urgent, and it is as true to-day as ever that "to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." "England expects this day that every man shall do his duty."

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

NATIONAL SECURITY.

"England! with all thy faults I love thee still—
My country!"—*Cowper.*

The Rock of Gibraltar stands as the symbol of British power on the seas, British rule in distant lands, British trade whereby the millions of British people have to live, their food being brought from abroad. It may be asked: "What has the Rock of Gibraltar to do with Nottinghamshire?" To which the reply is given: "Much, in many ways." Were that Rock violently taken out of Britain's hands, we in Nottinghamshire should soon have our food at famine prices, and might ere long be starving; the trade of the country would be paralyzed, would pass to other nations, and there would be a "good-bye" to the comforts, the civilization, the educational advantages we possess. That Rock, which stands say five times the height of Nottingham Castle Rock, and is possibly fifty times the size, is honeycombed throughout, and fortified, and with a garrison of over five thousand men, and with men-of-war in the bay. On the harbour and defence works many millions of money have been spent. It is a great coaling station, at which our ships are always calling, and to which millions of tons of coal are sent from England. People of all nationalities may be seen in its streets, dressed in the strangest of costumes. That Rock rests like a great lion between two seas, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It, and the opposite rock on the African coast called Ceuta, were the two Pillars of Hercules of ancient story—the gateway of the world. In the hands of Spain, to which it naturally belongs, it would—if not by national administration, at least by other nations' covetous desire—be a hindrance to trade, to good government—a machine fatal to the welfare of Britain and its nationalities. The British Empire is one great whole, and we are part of it: if it prospers we share in the prosperity; if it suffers we participate in those sufferings. God grant it may not fall by our internal squabbles, or lack of energy, unwatchfulness, unfairness, or vices.

The French War. There was great excitement in the Town and County of Nottingham one hundred years ago, in 1803, for an invasion of the country by the French was expected; Buonaparte was coming, and everybody must be trained and under arms to receive him. The Nottingham Troop of Yeomanry Cavalry, the Nottingham Supplementary Millitia, the Loyal Nottingham Volunteers, Volunteer Sherwood Rangers, and Troops of Yeomanry Cavalry in the towns and villages of the County, the Militia, the Nottinghamshire Division of the Army of Reserve—all rose to service, so that Mr. Bailey says: "Almost the entire male population of the district of adult age were in one way or other being trained to the use of arms. Nor were even the elder heads of families, not actually engaged in military training, allowed to exempt themselves from all participation in the danger and troubles attendant upon a state of internal warfare, should such an unfortunate circumstance inevitably occur, as every male housekeeper rated at £8 a year or upwards, and under the age of sixty years, not physically disqualified for service, nor a member of any volunteer association for the purpose of military training, was required to be sworn in as a special constable to act, in case of invasion, in the protection and removal of property, public and private, from the danger to which in such a season of turmoil it might become exposed. These different organizations, as may well be imagined, with their exercisings, marches, parades, reviews, etc., kept the whole country for several years in a very feverish and excited state."—p. 213.

Happily now we are at peace not only with France, but with the world, and therefore we are the better able to take a calm view of the situation. No longer do we speak as we then did of the French as being our hereditary enemy; we have, on the other hand, a cordial understanding, and this we ought to seek to have with every nation under heaven. Let us, however, look for a moment at the past.

The Past. We have seen how repeatedly our country has been torn by internal dissensions, harassed by designing tyrants, invaded or threatened by foreign foes, or weighed down by naval and military expeditions, and the cost of foreign wars. The Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman Conquests, and the Spanish Invasion, show us one class of evils to guard against; our tyrannous kings and family rivalries in the olden time show another; our Civil War and

the Revolution another; the awful wars with France, and Napoleon's ambition, and our wars in many ages and in many countries, all tell of evils through which our country has passed, and by which we and other nations and peoples have suffered. What lessons shall we learn for future guidance? The past cannot be undone. The good or the ill we must bear as our inheritance. The duties we must discharge. We find ourselves in the position of having inherited the rule or responsibility for millions of people in various parts of the world. We must not increase it, for the white man's burden is already heavy enough. We must hold what we have, for the British Empire makes for the good of mankind, the promotion of liberty, of law, order, and the moral and social welfare of the people. We cannot give up, for with an injured prestige the burden of rule or guardianship would be doubled. We must keep up our energies, for the days of ease, indolence, luxury and mere force are past, and our rule must be justified in the sight of the peoples where we rule by energy, prudence, firmness, right-doing, moderation, the development of internal resources and local industries, the utilizing of native talent, the avoidance of a dictatorial spirit and manner, or doing violence to local prejudices, or interference with their religious observances—in short, it must be just and thorough. We must further take into account the effect of education, and the growth of a national or racial spirit among the peoples of the East, and be prepared to adapt and modify our rule accordingly. We are also obliged to watch the ambitions of other nations, for unfortunately it is not everybody and every class that desire peace. There are men, both at home and abroad, who delight in war, who make gain through it by contracts, or who think they will rise the quicker and gain promotion the sooner by war. There are even newspapers that ferment discord, and endanger peace, apparently with a view to increase their prestige; and beside all this, there are persons abroad who for their nationalities are as restless and ambitious as we once were. It is therefore necessary, while we seek for peace, to be to a certain extent prepared for war.

Let us go as far as any other nation—nay, let us go before and beyond them, in steps towards lessening the burden of naval and military provision and expenditure, and in adopting arbitration as a substitute for war, and in moving heaven and earth to prevent recourse to it; but to pass pious resolutions for peace, to make little or no provision for war, to

neglect training, and to rely on hiring in case of necessity, appears to be living in a fool's paradise, and running an awful risk to our trade, which, like a sensitive plant, wants to be let alone, but must be shielded from outside attack. The defence of a country is one of its first duties; is the duty of every man in that country; is a duty that ought not to be delegated by one to another, or by the many to the few, or by those who will pay to some who are paid, but should be a national responsibility, in which every man should take his share. The creation of an army for foreign fighting is a mistake; we must substitute for it every man in his youth being trained at home.

Training. The permanent withdrawal from industrial pursuits of large masses of men becomes a burden on the rest, who have to work the more for the support of those who produce nothing. Everybody must work, and everybody must be trained for home defence. We cannot abolish the army, we must not violently disturb it, but we can by universal training gradually supersede or reduce it, and it will be no hardship to our youths on two nights in a week for two hours, or for four hours on a half-holiday, to go through exercises, with in summer time a fortnight's special drill and exercise, a part of such time to be spent in learning the use of tools, acts of agility, adaptation to circumstances, industrial education, and whatever will tend to manliness, to physical development, to self-reliance, to energy, to health. Such a course will tend to peace, not war.

"Jingo." The "jingo" spirit is produced by irresponsible youths, who can shout and sing warlike songs, but who prefer to gaze at football rather than engage in a personal contest, or risk their own skins. In the South African War, when the "send-offs" were taking place, it was as easy to discover who were the mothers of lads going to the war and who were not, as it was for King Solomon to discover which of the two women was the mother of the babe brought before him. Non-motherhood readily assented to a dividing of the child, but motherhood was in agony, for "her bowels yearned" at the thought of the death of her child. In the South African struggle the mothers, whose lads were going to risk their lives, wept, while the non-mothers smiled approval, and the music-hall sang, "He's a noble-hearted fellow." Let every lad feel that in case of war he has to go, and not to send a deputy; let every mother feel that from her one has

to be taken, and the sense of responsibility, sacrifice, and risk will increase tenfold the cry for peace, not war, if by peace and peaceable means right can be secured.

Our Navy. To the statement that our Navy is strong enough to defend our shores, it may be remarked that there is always the question of accident and risk through faulty arrangements; and secondly, that both our Empire and our Navy are spread over the wide world, and the Empire abroad has to be protected as well as that at home.

The New Democracy. The new democracy must now show its powers by taking up and discharging its responsibilities, saying, "It is our country, our empire, our homes we have to guard, not by hirelings or deputies, but by our own efforts and sacrifices." This will tend to the promotion of health by outdoor exercises; to the development of trade by increased security; to the brotherhood of man by all the people of all lands joining in saying, "We have been the sport of tyrants, self-seekers and loafers, who have fattened at our risk, cost, blood and shame. We will fight no more. Let war with all its horrors be a thing of the past."

The Hague Conference. I am inclined to regard the Hague Conference as of much greater importance to the world's peace than the newspapers credit it with. It was the first time in the world's history that all the Governments in the world were invited to send representatives to confer together. Forty-four Governments sent two hundred representatives to talk over matters affecting, and with a view to the improvement of, the international relations of each other. For four months they deliberated, and showed that there was throughout the world not only one common blood, but one common idea of right and wrong, and one common desire, with certain limitations, for peace. As an experiment, and a first experiment of the kind, it was a decided success, in that it showed the possibility of the world some day being governed in its international relations by an international Parliament, to which all disputes must be submitted. We have not arrived at that stage yet, but it is something gained for representatives of the nationalities of the world to meet, and become familiar with each other, and see each other's difficulties, and to know their aspirations. War may follow such a deliberative assembly, but the second assembly has been an advance on the first, which was a conference of

certain selected Powers, and the third may even exceed the second. Fourteen resolutions were unanimously signed, and have now become the law of the world, and are in force as international law. Some of these are of enormous value. More would have been accomplished but for the opposition of Germany leading along with it Austria, Turkey, Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Switzerland. It is, however, a distinct gain to have a World's Court established to which any State may appeal. Public opinion now goes a long way, and an aggressor will think twice before he risks the adverse decision of the World's Court.

Universal Peace. It would be a grand accomplishment if we could persuade all the nations of the world to lay down their armaments, to disband their armies, to cease to build ships of war, and to follow the development of industry and commerce. It may be the good time is coming for this to be accomplished, but it is not yet, and while every nation in Europe has conscription—that is, compulsory enrolment for military service—we neither have it, nor want it. Our noble King is a great promoter of peace and goodwill. We may depend upon His Majesty doing his best to prevent any disturbance of the world's peace, but His Majesty's Government have deemed it necessary to formulate a Territorial force, of which for our County the Duke of Portland, as Lord Lieutenant, is the head. The Duke and all the other members of the County Committee have appealed for support, and it now becomes the duty of young men to respond. This is not to go into barracks, or to join a standing army, but it is the force of the people for the benefit of the people. The people have at the last election shown their determination to take a more active part in the affairs of government, hence the increased number of representatives of what are called the Labour party. Additional privileges and advantages they have secured, for instance, old age pensions. Privilege and responsibility go together—that responsibility demands not an increase of the army and navy, but a thorough and hearty support of the Government in regard to national defence, and that support must be general and compulsory. "Compulsory!" someone exclaims, "Un-English!" Why un-English? The payment of taxes is not un-English, yet that is compulsory. So is service on juries and compliance with all laws. We make our own laws, and we must obey them. If Parliament demands service we must render it. In the absence of com-

pulsion those who need the service the most, and would be most benefited by it, would not render it.

Boys' Brigades. Here attention may very well be called to the benefit of Boys Brigades. Anyone who witnessed the action of the various brigades from the City, Hucknall, West Bridgford, and other places in the County, lately reviewed by the Duke of Portland at Trent Bridge, could not fail to perceive the smartness and agility, the readiness to obey, respect for authority, the *esprit de corps*, the animating spirit of each company, and that such service must be a kind of education to the boys and tend to their benefit in after life. And this smartness and benefit applied almost equally to the several competitors, the successful company being from the mining village of Hucknall, under Captain Rhodes; and to those of the fashionable suburb of West Bridgford, under Captain Swain; and to the very poorest socially, under Captain Oliver Hind. The like remark would apply to the boys of the Life Brigade, under Captain Charles A. Woodward, who do ambulance practice instead of carrying the rifle, and the question naturally arises—If these lads are benefited by their training, would not older lads of eighteen to twenty be equally benefited? Should the answer be "Yes"? But it is a question of high personal influence of men who will give their time and abilities to the work, and who, taking hold of a lad's hand, can say: "Come up higher," then a serious question of responsibility rests upon persons who prefer to devote their energies to mere personal gain or pleasure, for if one man can so influence for good and for life such a number of lads, we may well make an appeal and say, "Who, then, is willing to consecrate his service this day unto God and his country?"

CHAPTER XC.

OUR ULTIMATE AIM.

"The utmost for the highest."—*G. F. Watts.*

To the Young Men and Maidens of the City and County of Nottingham.

During the last two or three years you have been largely the object of my thoughts, and my reading has been almost entirely with the view to obtain something for you. I suppose that more than a hundred books have been examined, and of some it has been necessary to say: "There is no honey here for my hive." Many new lessons have had to be learnt, and, although pleasant, it has been fairly hard work for an old boy, who possibly could not have learnt in this School of Investigation had he not been more than seventy years in the Preparatory School of Experience. It may be the aim has not been attained, owing to what marksmen call depression to be allowed for, but in any case it has been definite, and that was to promote your good.

Good can be obtained from the reading of history only by reflection. When a cow has been busy in the meadow grazing she lies down to rest, and to masticate her food. The eating is necessary, but the mastication is equally so. We are benefited not so much by what we eat as by what we digest. It is not quantity that tells, so much as the use we make of what we have. The food that does us good is that which becomes a part of ourselves, turning into blood, or bone, or muscle, or nerve. The records of history, and biographies of men departed, will aid us if we learn their motives, weigh their actions, see the results, whether for good or evil, and by observation and reflection are able to secure or improve upon the good they had, to avoid their mistakes, and escape their penalties. If we are to obtain any benefit from the history of the past, we too must have a definite aim.

In the watershed of the Trent, covering several counties, you will observe that before the river empties itself into that arm of the sea called the Humber it receives the contributions of many rivers or rivulets, and they receive many brooks, and the brooks are formed of many trickling streamlets all tending in one direction towards their original source—the sea.

Forces for Good. The forces for good around us in like manner have one tendency — the good of the people. His Majesty the King (whom God preserve !), as Prince of Wales, had as his motto "*Ich Dien*"—"I serve." That motto, although not used on the King's arms, is the motto of his life. He serves ; he lives and works for the good of the people. The King's Ministers, whom we praise or blame according to our politics, however much they differ from what we should be if we were King's Ministers, earnestly desire to promote the good of the people. The Members of Parliament, whatever their faults—and they may be many—taken as a whole, work hard for the good of the people. The Judges and Magistrates, who sit hour after hour to hear and investigate the cases brought before them, have the one desire to administer justice for the public well-being. The Army and Navy are constituted for the defence of the homes, the trade, the well-being of the people. The Councils, Boards, and Committees for local administration sit many long hours with the object of promoting the public good. The teachers of the young in college and school, labour, serve, and endure with the definite aim of securing the benefit of those taught. There are a thousand and one societies and agencies around us tending to promote our education, culture, skill, thrift, usefulness, pleasure, security, and good.

The Church. And here come in all the aids of the Church of God—not *our* church, or *my* denomination, but what St. Paul calls "the Church of the Living God," with its wondrous revelation of love, its great Sacrifice and Example, its energizing Spirit, its stimulating promises, its high motives and possibilities of attainment, its glorious rewards, and its appeals to co-operate with God in redeeming men, made by men whom He has sent and fitted for the work, and who labour for the good of the people.

The most astonishing enterprize ever attempted, or that ever will be attempted, is seriously put before us by St. Paul as being the design of God, through Christ, to make every man perfect, full grown, complete, fully equipped. Theologians have tried to limit the extent of the scheme, and invented a kind of spiritual aristocracy—a select few—of course, in every case including themselves in the charmed circle, and pessimists have pointed to what has been accomplished by a very human class of the ambassadors of Heaven ; but the book which of all books in the world is the most hopeful is

the Bible. It definitely puts before us the aim of St. Paul as being one worker among many—no less an accomplishment than the presentation of every man as perfect; and he tells us (Col. 1 xxviii.) how it is to be accomplished—by teaching and admonishing, by the preaching of Christ the channel of the grace of God; for which purpose, like one of the wrestlers in the games, he taxed all his energies, using the power of the Spirit of God working in and through him. Like the diver seeking in the deeps to recover from a wreck lost jewels, who can work only as he is supplied from above with pure air, while the impure air is also carried off—so the man who is seeking to recover from the wrecks of faith and a good conscience the jewels of God—living men and women—works successfully only when the Spirit of God works in and through him.—*Rev. J. H. Jowett.*

Whatever St. Paul's idea of a complete, full grown, fully developed man may have been, we, in these modern days in Nottinghamshire, perceive that there must be included a healthy body, an enlightened mind, an awakened conscience for the building up of character, and the formation of happy homes, and a skilled hand to ensure real success in life.

Success. Peter Rosegger, in his *My Kingdom of Heaven*, tells how in his early days he had owned to his spiritual adviser that he had asked the prayers of a number of saints. "What were they to obtain for you?" He acknowledged that this was success in life. Then said the priest: "If you ask the saints for earthly things they will scarcely be able to help you, for they despised material prosperity, and will not understand how things which they considered prejudicial to the soul's salvation can be of advantage to you. But if you pray for the happiness that they themselves sought and found, for courage, humility, contentment, patience, for preservation of innocence and a clear conscience, for love towards God, they will certainly be ready to ask God to bestow such gifts and favours on you, and if the saints do not ask it for you, you will obtain the gifts yourself through your own fervent praying for them."

It would be folly to ignore the fact that there are forces at work in the opposite direction to that to which reference has been made. There are streams that will not only carry down dead fish, but such as may cause some persons to make a mental and moral shipwreck. Fortunately, the force depends

largely upon the power of resistance from within, and may be overcome, and every time we overcome an increased strength is developed. And where there has been a blunder made, or a downfall, it is fortunate that we have a gospel of restoration, a message of try, try again—of hope, effort, and ultimate success, notwithstanding occasional falls.

> "How does the soul grow? Not all in a minute;
> Now it may lose ground, and now it may win it;
> Now it resolves, and again the will faileth;
> Now it rejoices, and now it bewaileth;
> Now its hopes fructify, now they are blighted;
> Now it walks sunnily, now gropes benighted;
> Fed by discouragements, taught by disaster,
> So it goes forward, now slower, now faster,
> Till, all the pain past, and the failures made whole,
> It is full grown, and the Lord rules the soul."
>
> —*Susan Coolidge.*

Referring again to the qualities to be sought after in the aim of both individuals and local administrators, it may be observed that although the several markman's points cannot be ensured, they must be aimed at.

Healthy Bodies. The healthy bodies require the co-operative effort of the individual and the community. Not only must nuisances be removed, and healthy houses, workshops, and public buildings be provided, but now we have compulsory inspection of children in schools there requires the active co-operation of parents in the removal of evils indicated, and of young people themselves in the full development of their powers, by fresh air and exercise, by good milk and nourishing foods, by the avoidance of excesses, and the cultivation of the simple life, by sleeping with slightly opened windows, and whatever will tend to the health so much coveted, and so easily ruined.

The Mind Enlightened. It is a very short step from the discovery of the need to govern and restrain our bodies to the next one that we owe duties to those around us; their persons we must honour and regard, their property and rights we must respect, their wills we must often yield to, our rights must often be subservient to theirs. I am not alone on an island, like Robinson Crusoe; I cannot do as I please. If there is only "Friday," he has his rights, and I

have my duty to him, and if there are many "Fridays" my duty to my neighbour becomes one of the paramount duties of life; and so courtesy—a right consideration of what is due to others—comes in, with the force that requires obedience.

Another stage is the observation of Nature around us.

Nearly twenty years ago I attended a course of Natural History half-hour addresses, held by working men, at eight o'clock every Sunday morning in the Nottingham Arboretum. Returning from an address given by Mr. W. A. Mann, the Naturalist Bricklayer, on "The Wonders of the Common Bean," I overheard a lad exclaim: "How much there is we don't know!" It was the first time that he had made the discovery of his own ignorance. "Man, know thyself!" is a message which, attended to, brings self-abasement when we realize our littleness, ignorance, liability to fall, proneness to the earth and its low pleasures, and readiness to make excuses for default, but the first shock being over, strength is gathered from a recollection of difficulties already overcome, and a perception of our capacity to climb, and "I can" is followed by "I will."

> "So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, '*Thou must!*'
> The youth replies, '*I can!*'"—*Emerson.*

A Bee Lesson. The Nottingham Naturalists Society recently went over the grounds of Lord Belper at Kingston Hall, when Mr. G. Hayes, the county instructor in apiculture, had in store a treat for them. A swarm of bees had left their hive, and were induced by Mr. Hayes' skilful management to take possession of a bushel measure, and when the society was assembled, and a proper hive for the bees had been arranged and fixed, the whole of the bees were poured out of the bushel on to a white sheet laid down in front of the hive, when Mr. Hayes gently put his hand into the mass of bees, and finding the queen bee, guided her to the hole of the hive, which she at once entered, and immediately, as if by magic, the whole thirty thousand bees rose, drawn by an unseen power, and made their way over one another to the hole of the hive, which they entered, following their queen. Here was liberty, attraction, loyalty, decision, alacrity in the discharge of duty, and for the general good—a lesson for us

who pride ourselves in the possession of reason, and give bees credit for instinct only.

The attention now paid to Nature study is especially helpful to young minds, opening out to them great possibilities of pleasure and usefulness.

As we gaze at the starry heavens we learn that all those stars are worlds like our own, and built of similar materials; but some of them becoming old and worn out, and some of them mere baby worlds just formed by the Great Creator as part of a vast system, upheld and controlled by Infinite Power, forming a mighty stream of stars revolving round a great centre, with another and possibly other centres turning in the opposite direction, hundreds of millions of stars going in mysterious silence, yet restrained by a law we call gravitation. At the greatness of the mystery we are obliged to realize and rest in the assurance that the Maker is greater than His works, that there is a grand purpose, law, and order regulating them all, and that what we know not now we shall know hereafter, and so we exclaim :—

> "These are Thy works, Parent of Good,
> Almighty! Thine this universal frame
> Thus wondrous fair. Thyself how wondrous then."

And these are but parts of His ways, for turning from the infinitely vast to the infinitesimally small, with a microscope (every church ought to have one for the help of its young people), we see life teeming everywhere in organisms so small that the human eye cannot discern them, yet being fed, fulfilling their purpose, and departing to make room for an infinite succession. Turning the focus upon a flower, we see its hidden beauty, while upon man's handiwork we see its comparative deformity. In a corn of wheat we notice the beauty of the arrangement in the principal food of man for supplying all his needs of brain and muscle, bones, blood, nerves, energy and warmth, and then if we go into a field of wheat growing, we see how that plant in its early stages takes its benefit from the soil and the sun, air, and rain, but after June uses up the stored materials in turning them into grain; and from that wheat let us learn the lesson that we shall in after life have to use up the materials we now get together, and our old age will be happy or miserable according to our gathering and our store.

An Awakened Conscience. From Nature we easily rise to Nature's God, from natural to revealed religion, for God has revealed Himself through His Son as a God of infinite love, Who yearns for our salvation, and has sent His Son to bring us nigh unto Himself, and given His Spirit to make us partakers of a Divine nature by the acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord, and the development of grace given to enable us to overcome, to do and dare for God, while we minister to the good of man in seeking happiness through holiness and usefulness. Here is the essential reform, beginning internally and developing through all the energies of life. For it must never be forgotten that religion to be of use must be practical, must not exhaust itself in worship, but must control the everyday affairs of life, must result in truthful language, clean living, honest trading, good workmanship, fair wages, industry, integrity, crowned with sympathy and consideration for others, in the absence of which church-going is of little use.

Trade Knowledge. It seems almost like a desecration to descend from an investigation of the wonders of Nature to the study of the things by which we obtain our living, but really this is in appearance only, and that is a foolish division which labels things as "sacred" and "secular." All things are sacred that have to do with the necessities and well-being of life. Every man and woman ought to study whatever affects his or her occupation. Success in life is not piling up of money, but being of greater use. The farmer who knows and uses his knowledge as to everything concerning his land, cattle and crops; the grocer who knows all about the articles he sells; the cook who understands the properties of the ingredients she puts in her dishes; and so on through all the walks of life—these realise that knowledge is power, that to be of use you must know, and be able to do, for a combination of knowledge and skill, used with a right motive and energy, tend to benefit both the individual and society.

The Skilled Hand. These energies require the skilled hand, which in these days of foreign rivalry and keen competition becomes a national necessity, for we cannot hold our own in the markets of the world except the highest skill is brought to bear upon our manufactures. Our trades unions have at length realised this, and are seeking to

promote it. Young beginners must be thoroughly trained either by the apprenticeship system or in some other form. Employers and employees must co-operate, not for the purpose of obtaining some personal advantage merely, but to produce the very best result, with, of course, material benefit. The young workman must realise that without skill he will be one of the first to lose his situation in slack times, and in busy times the last to be engaged. A badge of disgrace must be attached to the unskilled hand, for he will become one of the unemployed, because unemployable. The time for dawdling is past, and whatever the department of life may be, and whatever occupation of either sex—for we need skilled women in the home, as well as skilled men in the factory—there must be a combined and sustained effort to produce the best results for the security of our trade, as well as for the benefit of the individual.

In the men with healthy bodies, enlightened minds, trained consciences and skilled hands, we have the complete men that we want in every parish in our county—men a credit to themselves, an honour to their parents, a benefit to the state. Of course, when we speak of "men," we imply similarly developed and qualified women. There has gone from our City one man who has done, and is still doing, a great work for the good of humanity—General Booth, and the aim to be accomplished is well expressed by our greatest local poet, who lately passed from us, Philip James Bailey, when he says:—

"This life is a mystery.
The value of a thought cannot be told:
But it is clearly worth a thousand lives
Like many men's. And yet men love to live
As if mere life were worth their living for.
Life's more than breath and the quick round of blood;
It is a great spirit and a busy heart.
The coward and the small in soul scarce live.
One generous feeling—one great thought—one deed
Of good, ere night, would make life longer seem
Than if each year might number a thousand days
Spent as is this by nations of mankind.
We live in deeds—not years; in thoughts—not breaths;
In feelings—not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most—feels the noblest—acts the best."

It is not, however, the production of a few great men that we have to aim at, for only one in a million or more will become great—but that so far as is possible the rank and file shall be able to pass muster on inspection, each doing his duty in his own sphere, and doing his work well, however menial that work may be.

We want Men. What is our aim? Why do we have all our schools and education, our libraries and colleges, our churches, and religious, physical, mental and moral efforts, and the thousand-and-one advantages connected with modern civilization? Surely it is that we want to grow and rear Men and Women. We are proud of our oaks —grand old trees among the finest in England, grown on Nottinghamshire soil, but we want also to grow MEN—Men are more important than the trees. We breed fine animals to be shown at the Agricultural Shows of Colwick, Newark, Retford, Mansfield, Welbeck, Clumber, Kingston, and elsewhere, but how much then is a man of more value than a sheep! In our Horticultural Shows we have fine specimens of vegetables grown on our soils, of fruits grown on our trees, of roses, carnations, chrysanthemums, grown in our gardens, but of far greater importance is the growth of MEN. On the farm or in the factory, in the shop or the office, we want MEN; men who will make real things, not shams; goods that will wear and last, not veneered to look better than they are; not sham marble painted, but marble without wax, as the old Romans asked for, goods honestly made, money fairly earned, reputations built up by years of honest toil and fair treatment, good skilful workmanship, reasonable wages, and kindly consideration for others. The very first step in the direction of this reformation is for each of us to be real and true ourselves, and with some of us this will be hard work—to be real and true MEN. Not mere pleasure-seekers, whose hearts and minds are set upon some game, or entertainment, or excitement, or feast, while taking no pleasure in hard work, or trade skill, or public service. We want MEN. Men of thought, purpose, energy, grit. In the Church we want MEN. Not sticklers for vestments and apostolic succession, not claimants for supernatural powers, easy posts, and the fleeces of well-to-do sheep, but MEN. If they have a fine physical form, joined with height, strength and muscle, all the better, but in any case MEN. Men with big hearts and active steps; men that will reach down to the depths of the

degradation of their fellow-men, and will, by the power of a kindly grip and cheery word say: "Come a little higher up." Men who will by the power of prayer, with study and effort, get at the mind and will of God, and unfold it to the weakest and most sinful, the poorest and most ignorant, and so in a Christ-like manner will open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers, and thus be helping God to make MEN. In Parliament we want MEN. Men with brains as well as hearts. Men with knowledge as well as capital. Not endless talkers, who will waste time if their speeches are reported. Not men of faction, who care little for their country's good if they can "dish the Whigs" or "confound the Tories." Not place-hunters, who regard the spoils of office as lawful plunder without consideration of qualifications or the discharge of equivalent service and duty, but MEN of ability, energy and high ambition for noble purposes. In the army—however small it may be—we want MEN. Not dandies, with silver-mounted canes, making calls and attending parties. Not war-begetters, stirring up strife by overbearing conduct towards native races. Not contractors, making plunder out of war stores. Not officers, who know less of their duties than do the men whom they command. Not machines, who can act only as acted upon. But MEN—men of intelligence promptitude, power of endurance, readiness of adaptation to circumstances, and courage to sacrifice their lives for their country's good. We want MEN.

We want Women. Men can do little good without women. God has made the one sex essential to the other, with equal, though diverse capacities, with equally important, though different spheres, and with equal responsibility for the exercise of every talent, both for the present and future good of the race. We want women of health and strength for the bearing and nursing of children, who will for the sake of giving a child a good start in life make sacrifice of themselves, and will realize the responsibility of making the next generation better than the present. Women whose main idea is to make home happy; who, while cultivating that beauty of expression that men love, will care more for beauty of heart, mind, and life, than mere beauty of skin, which, being only skin deep, may any day be lost. Women who with kindly sympathy and active step are ever ready to do a kind act for a neighbour.

"She doeth little kindnesses,
Which most leave undone, or despise;
For naught that sets one heart at ease,
And giveth happiness or peace,
Is low esteemed in her eyes."—*Lowell.*

Not scolds or shrews, making men miserable; not butterflies, flitting hither and thither without aim or purpose; not, snail-like, carrying all their wealth upon their backs; not man traps, whose object is to ensnare without considering how to keep, and for life to charm; not sickly sentimentalists, who are troubled with the woes of far-off lands, and neglect the shirts, and buttons, and pies, of their own husbands and children; not mere strivers after political rights, to the neglect of every-day duties. We want WOMEN fitted to discharge the duties of any sphere to which they are adapted, or that is open to them. Women loving God, goodness and beauty in every form, they attain nearer to the angelic than men can possibly do. There are such women: God lent me one for fifty years, and then He took her to Himself—

"UNTIL THE DAY DAWN."

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Page xv., List of Illustrations: The word "Abbey" is used as on the old pictures on pages 101 and 113, but Newstead and Worksop were Priories.—See page 119.

,, 4, line 28, for "Heywood" read Haywood.

,, 50, ,, 41, ,, "Scone" read Sconce.

,, 115, ,, 31, £12, afterwards settled at £25,186; to be paid for the land taken, being £10 per yard for Carrington Street, and £7 per yard for Greyfriars Gate—all frontage.

,, 127, line 10, delete "Rev."

,, 212, ,, 13, for "Hodgson" read Hodgkin.

,, 224, ,, 31, ,, "Witan-Gemot" read Witena-Gemote.

,, 231, ,, 35, ,, "LXV" read LXVII.

,, 240, ,, 35, ,, "National" read Natural.

,, 242, ,, 37, ,, "Lindhurst" read Lyndhurst.

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